Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-226
Friday
22 November 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-226 *22 November 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Veterans Disown Communist Past, Support Kosovo *[ATA]* 1
Youth Federation Supports Students' Hunger Strike *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Newspaper Editors Protest Newsprint Shortage *[Tirana Radio]* 1

BULGARIA

British Minister Hogg Holds Talks With Leaders 2
Praises Zhelev's Balkan Initiative *[BTA]* 2
Signs Health Care Agreement *[BTA]* 2
Praises Bulgaria's Democratic Reforms *[BTA]* 2
Zhelev on EC Membership, NATO Security Zone *[Paris LE FIGARO 19 Nov]* 3
NATO Delegation Optimistic About Economic Reform *[BTA]* 4
Ludzhev Comments on Cooperation With NATO Armies *[DEMOKRATSIYA 16 Nov]* 4
Zhelev Opens Sofia Conference on Army's Role *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 18 Nov]* 5
Several Parties Back Zhelev for President *[BTA]* 5
Supreme Court Recognizes Green Party's Legitimacy *[DUMA 16 Nov]* 6
BSP's Yonchev Defends Stand on Property Issue *[PODKREPA 16 Nov]* 6
Power Production Problems at Kozloduy Plant Noted *[Sofia Radio]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Slovak Government Adopts Stand on 'Power-Sharing' *[Prague Radio]* 8
Issues Declaration on Federation *[NARODNA OBRODA 20 Nov]* 8
Carnogursky Reacts to Declaration *[NARODNA OBRODA 20 Nov]* 9
Pithart Lauds Slovak Action *[Prague Radio]* 9
Havel Meets Federal Assembly Presidium 21 Nov *[Prague Radio]* 10
Havel Announces December Debate on Referendum *[Prague Radio]* 11
Voting on Referendum Draft Predicted *[LIDOVE NOVINY 19 Nov]* 12
Havel Tells KDH Leaders of 'Legal Chaos' Fear *[Prague Radio]* 12
KDH Criticizes Havel Proposals *[CSTK]* 13
Early Elections 'Acceptable' *[CSTK]* 13
Havel Receives Political Representatives 19 Nov
[CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 20 Nov] 13
Dubcek Criticizes Miklosko Remarks, Wants Accord *[NARODNA OBRODA 18 Nov]* 14
Pithart Survives 'Indirect' No-Confidence Vote *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov]* 14
Dienstbier on Security Risks of State Breakup *[NARODNA OBRODA 20 Nov]* 15
Jezek Discusses Privatization Program Delay *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 15 Nov]* 16
Funding To Convert Arms Production Approved *[CSTK]* 17
Chief of Staff on Army Budget, NATO Relations *[CSTK]* 17
Government Decisions on Farm Subsidies, Benefits *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 1 Nov]* 17

HUNGARY

SFRY Agrees To Elimate Border Minefield Hazards *[MTI]* 19
Fur Says 24-Hour Border Alert To Continue *[MTI]* 19
Keleti Explains Redeployment of Troops *[NEPSZABADSAG 20 Nov]* 19
Jeszenszky on EC Negotiations, SFRY Sanctions *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Hungary Ready To Initial EC Association Treaty *[Budapest Radio]* 19
Shevardnadze Visit Cancelled; Treaty on Schedule *[MTI]* 20
Economic Effects of Soviet Insolvency Contemplated *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 20 Nov]* 20

Goncz, Jeszenszky Comments on Statue of Limitations *[MTI]* 20
Horn Views Socialist Party Role, Prospects *[168 ORA 19 Nov]* 21
Smallholders Reveal Composition of New Faction *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Smallholders' Cseh Views Congress, Coalition *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 18 Nov]* 23

POLAND

Center Accord Leader Views Coalition Issues *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 18 Nov]* 25
Five-Party Coalition Working on Economic Program *[PAP]* 26
Private Radio, TV Chairman on Broadcast Rights *[Warsaw Radio]* 26
Silesians Association Leader on Border Issue *[GAZETA ROBOTNICZA 13 Nov]* 27
Impact of 'Greater Vilnius' Project Examined *[TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 8 Nov]* 28

ROMANIA

Parliament Adopts Draft Constitution 21 November *[Bucharest Radio]* 30
Voting Results Reported *[Bucharest Radio]* 30
Opposition Leaders Address Parliament *[Bucharest Radio]* 31
FSN Leader Praises Constitution *[ROMPRES]* 32
Referendum on Constitution To Be Held 8 December *[Bucharest Radio]* 32
Stolojan Announces 'Late January' Local Elections *[ROMPRES]* 32
Government Issues Declaration on Ethnic Minorities *[Bucharest Radio]* 32
Stolojan Discusses Mandate, Economic Issues *[TINERETUL LIBER 17 Nov]* 33
Roman Explains Differences With Iliescu *[ROMPRES]* 35
PSDT's Stanescu Interviewed on Party Dissension *[ROMANIA LIBERA 19 Nov]* 35
Major Newspapers in Danger of Halting Publication *[ADEVARUL 19 Nov]* 36
Iliescu Assesses Results of Visit to France *[ROMPRES]* 37

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Presidency's Jovic Departs for PRC 21 Nov *[TANJUG]* 38
Milosevic, Vance Discuss UN Peacekeeping Force *[TANJUG]* 38
Greek Ship Carrying Aid Arrives in Dubrovnik *[Zagreb Radio]* 38
Press Reviews Decision To Deploy Foreign Warships *[TANJUG]* 38
Netherland's Van den Broek on EC Pressure *[TANJUG]* 39
EC Asked To Cancel Suspension of Trade Accord *[TANJUG]* 39
Nonaligned Countries Urged To Prevent Oil Embargo *[TANJUG]* 39

Federal

Discussion on Markovic's Replacement Postponed *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
BORBA on Meeting Between Markovic, Milosevic *[TANJUG]* 40
Chamber Agrees on New Rules of Procedure *[TANJUG]* 40
Assembly of Republics, Provinces Continues Work 41
Extends Deputies' Mandates *[TANJUG]* 41
Accepts Several Resignations *[TANJUG]* 41
Allows JNA To Obtain Credits *[TANJUG]* 41
Defense Minister Congratulates Forces on Victory *[TANJUG]* 41
Bank Leader on Debt Repayment, Inflation Problem *[TANJUG]* 42

Slovenia

Government Expected To Propose Confidence Vote *[Ljubljana Radio]* 42
Expert Explains Historical Aspect of Borders *[VJESNIK 22 Oct]* 42

Croatia

Republic Restricts Movements of Draft-Age Males *[Zagreb TV]* 45
Defense Ministry Confirms Dedakovic's Arrest *[Zagreb TV]* 45

Supreme Council Says Plot To Weaken Defense *[TANJUG]* 45
General Staff Issues Statement on Vukovar Evacuees *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Croatian Rights Party Activities Condemned *[VJESNIK 4 Nov]* 46
New Defense Minister for Krajina Appointed *[TANJUG]* 47
Krajina Assembly Expresses Confidence in Babic *[TANJUG]* 47
Mobilization in Knin Krajina; Refugee Status *[BORBA 28 Oct]* 48

Serbia

Vojvodina Magyars Call For Self-Government *[Budapest Radio]* 49
Kosovar Activists Arrested in Kamenica *[FJALA No 43]* 49

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Two Opposition Parties Call For UN Troops *[TANJUG]* 49
Sandzak Region Muslim Leader Appeals for Forces *[TANJUG]* 50
Ministry Says Draftees 'Not Obliged' to Call-Up *[Sarajevo Radio]* 50
Vukovar Convoy Arrives in Dvorovi 21 Nov *[TANJUG]* 50
Arrival of Reservists Causes 'Tension' in Neum *[Sarajevo Radio]* 50
Army Promises To Withdraw From Neum *[Sarajevo Radio]* 51
Serbian Assembly Discusses Plebiscite Results *[Sarajevo Radio]* 51
Leaders in Mostar Protest Croatian 'Community' *[TANJUG]* 52
Official Interviewed on Republic Paramilitary *[BORBA 28 Oct]* 52
Pelivan Interviewed on Government Reconstruction *[OSLOBODJENJE 31 Oct]* 53
Parliamentary Opposition Urges Change *[OSLOBODJENJE 31 Oct]* 55

Macedonia

Gligorov Addresses Festive Session of Assembly *[Skopje Radio]* 56

Veterans Disown Communist Past, Support Kosovo

AU1311204491 Tirana ATA in English 1018 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 13 (ATA)—On November 12, the 5th National Conference of the Veterans of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War convened in Tirana. Both the report and the contributions laid the stress on the work and stand of the veterans as supporters of the democratic processes in our country. It was stressed also that the veterans' organisation endorses the pluralist People's Assembly, the Stability Government, the new economic reform, and the commitment of the political and social forces for ensuring tranquillity and social peace, the righteous demands of the workers and peasantry. The veterans, the conference pointed out, have dissociated themselves from the theoretical and practical mistakes of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party], of its leadership and Enver Hoxha, who led to the artificial instigation of the class struggle, the isolating policy of the country, etc.

The conference pointed out the fact that the veterans' organisation has supported and supports resolutely all the demands of the Albanians in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia, it has hailed the proclamation of the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state and backs up the legitimate demands of Cam population for the observation of their national and human rights.

The conference adopted the statute of the reformed organisation, the resolution of its workings, a resolution in support of the initiative for holding on November 28 the assembly for national reconciliation and union, and elected the leading organs.

Pirro Dodbiba was elected chairman of the National Committee of the Veterans of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War.

Youth Federation Supports Students' Hunger Strike

AU2111204091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] In a declaration, the Albanian Youth Federation stresses that it supports and is watching with concern the hunger strike of the students of Shkoder University, and associates itself with their fair demands. At the same time, it calls on the Shkoder District Pluralist Executive Committee, the government, and the parliament to fulfill as soon as possible these demands, which are quite feasible but are finding no solution.

Newspaper Editors Protest Newsprint Shortage

AU2111203791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] A protest signed by 14 chief editors of principal newspapers and addressed to the People's Assembly, the president, and the Council of Ministers states among other things:

Fifteen days have now passed without the publication of a single national newspaper. Newspaper editorial boards are extremely worried. This is an unprecedented gag on information that has increased the general social confusion in Albania. There have been major irregularities in the publication and distribution of newspapers this year. This has put editorial boards in an extremely difficult position in front of subscribers and readers. We demand that state bodies and the relevant authorities impose order at once and permit the editorial boards to work normally, so that they may continue to play the noble role that belongs to them in incessantly developing democracy in the country. We consider blocking the press for whatever reason to be an attack on freedom of thought and Albanian democracy. The liberalization of the newsprint price, which is to rise 4.5 times, is also such an attack, and will force all editorial boards to go bankrupt at once. We therefore demand:

1. That newsprint should immediately be included in the basket of goods whose prices will not be liberalized. We also demand accountability over this problem, in order to permit the immediate resumption of the publication of newspapers.

2. Considering that this appeal coincides with the time when subscribers place their orders for their favorite papers, every citizen should have the right to subscribe for a three-month period as well as a six-month period.

3. That the press be distributed in the towns and the countryside on the same day, with no repetition of the serious irregularities observed this year.

4. That state and economic bodies should act urgently to repair defects in the financial relations between the newspapers and all other bodies involved in publishing, such as the printers, and in press subscription and distribution.

5. That the government take urgent measures to obtain newsprint and renew newspaper technology, which is extremely old and obsolete, and to improve the working conditions of printworkers and journalists in the printing works.

For our part, we do not wish to resort to ultimatums.

British Minister Hogg Holds Talks With Leaders

Praises Zhelev's Balkan Initiative

AU2111101291 Sofia BTA in English 2139 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—Mr. Douglas Hogg, minister of state, foreign and commonwealth affairs of Britain, told Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev today that Great Britain supports President Zhelev's initiative for holding tripartite political talks between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. Mr. Hogg also praised highly the stabilizing role of Bulgaria in the Balkans.

The British minister of state expressed his country's support for Bulgaria's new government and the country's current policy. He showed understanding for Bulgaria's desire to join the European structures and said that Britain is ready to render her assistance within the framework of the European institutions. Mr. Hogg stressed the necessity for encouraging foreign investments in Bulgaria.

Mr. Hogg said that Bulgarian-British trade relations should be extended and that the initiative should come from Bulgaria. Bulgaria should provide political and economic guarantees for these investments.

Mr. Ganev informed the British minister of state about the new cabinet's resolution to work hard for the establishment of a market economy and the legislative basis for Bulgaria's further democratization, as well as for the integration of the ethnic minorities into the Bulgarian society in accordance with universally recognized standards.

Mr. Ganev assured Mr. Hogg that Bulgaria is following a consistent policy and that it will play a positive role in the Balkans. This Bulgarian stand was highly assessed within the context of NATO and EC efforts for finding ways to stabilize the situation in the region. Mr. Ganev stressed that what is important for Bulgaria is not its membership in NATO but its active participation in the NATO mechanisms and the processes that lead to stability and security.

Mr. Ganev and Mr. Hogg discussed Bulgaria's energy problems and the pollution of the town of Ruse. "The way in which we discussed the Ruse problem gives me good reason to say that the European Community will help us," Mr. Ganev said after the meeting. The British minister of state expressed his country's willingness to help solve this problem.

Both sides expressed a desire for more active political contacts.

Signs Health Care Agreement

AU2111171291 Sofia BTA in English 1629 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—A Bulgarian-British intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in health care, including a detailed working programme for the 1991-1993 period, was signed here today by Mr. Petur Tenchev, Bulgaria's deputy minister of health, and Mr. Douglas Hogg, Britain's minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs.

"We think that we have a role to play in the transfer of some technical knowledge both in the organization and the methods of treatment," he told a press conference at the end of his visit. "Moreover, we can use the know-how fund for that purpose. And I was able to announce today a know-how fund project which is relevant to the transfer of technical skills and know-how in the field of health care," he added.

The agreement envisages the exchange of information, specialists and cooperation in the organization and management of health care, the treatment of some diseases, the production of medical equipment and pharmaceuticals. Technological cooperation is also possible.

Praises Bulgaria's Democratic Reforms

AU2111174891 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 21 Nov 91

["Britain Welcomes Changes in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—"I leave this country with a strong conviction that the bilateral relations between the United Kingdom and Bulgaria are good and that provided the progress towards democratic change continues, those relations will be even better." This is how Mr. Douglas Hogg, Britain's minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, summed up the results of his 24-hour visit to Bulgaria at a news conference here today.

Mr. Hogg told the chairman of the National Assembly, Mr. Stefan Savov, that he greatly admires Bulgaria's achievements in the recent weeks and the new government's determination to follow market economy principles and observe minority rights. All that changed this country's image in Europe, he said and pointed out that Bulgaria's commitment to democracy is closely related to the assistance of the West.

Mr. Hogg is the first Western minister to visit Bulgaria after the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) won the October 13 general elections. "We will do what we can through the know-how fund, through the European Community, within the G-24 to promote good relations between Bulgaria and the rest of the world, including practical financial assistance," he said. "We are committed to the start of exploratory talks between the European Community and the government of Bulgaria for the creation of an association agreement. I hope that that will start in December. Judging by previous experience, it will take a year or so to complete. That will go ahead unless there is evidence of your pulling back from the process of democratic reforms. The condition is a

genuine commitment to economic change and democratic reform," he explained. Mr. Hogg pointed out the same condition in his talks with the chairman of parliament, Mr. Stefan Savov, and with representatives of the parliamentary parties. He paid special attention to minority rights. In his opinion, the Bulgarian Government is handling the problem well enough.

This morning Mr. Hogg delivered a personal message from Britain's Prime Minister John Major to Bulgaria's Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. It contained congratulations on the SDS election victory.

Mr. Stefan Savov pointed out that the objective was a complete replacement of the system since, according to the SDS, the period between 1989 and the recent elections rather resembled the Soviet perestroyka.

Mr. Hogg inquired about the cooperation between the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). He was told that the cooperation between the two parliamentary factions foster stability in the National Assembly.

Zhelev on EC Membership, NATO Security Zone

PM2111101891 Paris LE FIGARO in French 19 Nov 91 p 6

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Baudouin Bollaert in Paris—date not given]

[Text] [Bollaert] What is the reason for this visit to France?

[Zhelev] I am going to take part in the summit of French-speaking countries to which Bulgaria, my country, has been invited as an observer. The French language is still widely spoken in my country despite the aggressive expansion of English throughout the world. It was our second language between the two wars. Then the emphasis was placed on German and, of course, Russian which was made compulsory at school. But the interest in French remains, especially in intellectual circles. Today about 30 percent of Bulgarians of working age speak your language.

[Bollaert] When people talk of French speaking in Eastern Europe, they tend to think of Romania.

[Zhelev] French is certainly more widely spoken there. But, as a general rule, these comparisons or this link with Romania annoy us. We have made much more progress in the democratic process than it has.

[Bollaert] Are you seeking EEC membership, like most of the former USSR satellites?

[Zhelev] Bulgarian membership in the EC is one of our priorities. But we understand the complex aspect of the issue. It will not happen in two years or five years. Our economy does not yet fulfill the necessary requirements. On the other hand, we intend to open negotiations with the EEC on association as soon as it has reached the same type of agreement with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, probably next week.

[Bollaert] What do you expect from the Twelve?

[Zhelev] Commercial advantages, financial, technological, and technical aid, and closer political cooperation. In our country, the army, police, and legal authorities are no longer controlled by the party. Currency reform is a success even according to the IMF and World Bank experts. The privatization process is expanding and we intend to modify our legislation to attract foreign investment.

[Bollaert] Do you also want NATO membership?

[Zhelev] That is probably not possible. But the formula for the North Atlantic Cooperation Council accepted at the Rome summit strikes me as very good and very flexible. We will realize all that in the institutional framework in Brussels on 20 December.

[Bollaert] Are you, like Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, asking NATO to extend its security guarantees to the former Warsaw Pact members?

[Zhelev] I fully agree with him. We need stability. For instance, I am opposed to redrawing borders, even the Yugoslav border. If it was done by negotiation it would be different. But not under pressure from the army.

[Bollaert] How do you view the situation in Yugoslavia?

[Zhelev] It is very serious, too serious. I do not want to see a kind of Lebanon developing there. The situation is unpredictable and the EEC delayed too long in imposing sanctions. They should have been announced one or two months ago. The CSCE has proved impotent.

[Bollaert] Has it disappointed you?

[Zhelev] Yes, because the Paris charter made the provision for a mechanism to prevent conflicts. However, events in Yugoslavia have shown that that does not work. So, if the CSCE wishes to maintain its prestige, effective instruments for handling a real crisis must be established.

[Bollaert] In your geographical area, you are upholding the idea of a multilateral conference with Greece and Turkey. To what end?

[Zhelev] Within a relatively limited area, there is an anachronistic concentration of troops by these three countries which dates from the cold war. We are therefore proposing to withdraw attack troops 80 km inside the respective borders. Negotiations are at a fairly advanced stage. But you must realize that in our country, nationalist circles are still brandishing the specter of the Turkish threat.

[Bollaert] To whom are you referring?

[Zhelev] I am referring to the former communist party.

[Bollaert] It is a party which won 106 out of 240 seats in the last elections, whereas the party representing the Turkish ethnic minority (Turkish Movement for Rights and Freedom) obtained 24.... Between these two how can the United Democratic Forces [UDF], with 110 deputies, govern?

[Zhelev] It is true that in parliament, the difference is not very great. Especially since the Movement for Rights and Freedom was not willing to participate in a coalition government. But if the UDF only won by a short margin, more than two thirds of Bulgarian voters voted against communism. I am therefore not worried.

[Bollaert] Will you stand in the presidential election in January?

[Zhelev] I do not know. It all depends on the support I receive prior to that. I have always been a dissident and I belong to the family of the United Democratic Forces. But there will be many candidates.

[Bollaert] What is your view of the situation in the USSR?

[Zhelev] It is worse than ever. Our energy supply problems are the result of this situation.

[Bollaert] Do you prefer Gorbachev or Yeltsin?

[Zhelev] Boris Yeltsin. I prefer him because he gave a better response to the problems. He has resolutely adopted the path of reform. For years Gorbachev did not have that courage and his hesitations compromised perestroyka.

NATO Delegation Optimistic About Economic Reform

AU2011171091 Sofia BTA in English 1637 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—At a press conference today a delegation of the Economic Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, led by Mr. Gerard Gaud, shared its impressions of the progress of the Bulgarian reform.

Bulgaria will be presented in a favourable light in the report on the economic situation in Eastern Europe, Mr. Gaud projected. He specified that the report is being prepared by the subcommission on East-West economic cooperation and convergence, headed by him, and will be discussed by the North Atlantic Assembly next year.

The NATO parliamentarians are well aware of the serious problems facing the Bulgarian economy but are optimistic about the future of the reform. They are impressed by the resolve of the Bulgarian Government and the other competent institutions to implement radical reforms. The NATO representatives were pleased to find out that the main political forces in Bulgaria give priority to Bulgaria's integration into Europe.

The loss of markets after the disintegration of the former "socialist camp" makes it necessary for Bulgaria to restore its economic links with the East European countries on a new basis. Priority should also be given to promoting trade with Bulgaria's neighbours including Turkey, according to the NATO parliamentarians.

Asked about Bulgaria's national security guarantees after the disbandment of the Warsaw Treaty, Mr. Gaud called on the Bulgarian people to trust NATO, an alliance which did not permit an armed conflict in Europe in the course of 45 years. Asked about NATO's attitude to President Zhelev's initiative for a Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish political dialogue, Mr. Gaud stressed the importance of NATO's new European security strategy, mapped out at the Rome summit, and NATO's support for stability and goodneighbourliness in the Balkans.

Ludzhev Comments on Cooperation With NATO Armies

AU2111143891 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 91 p 1

[Emil Zdravkov report: "We Will Cooperate Not Only With NATO But Also With Separate Armies of the Pact"]

[Text] On 15 November we asked Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev about the purely military aspects of the recent visit of our delegation to NATO's headquarters. In an exclusive statement to DEMOKRATSIYA, he said that in addition to meeting Manfred Woerner and his deputies, he also held meetings and a series of talks with the commander of NATO's Armed Forces, the leader of the U.S. mission, and officers from NATO's Strategic Planning Group. Those meetings and talks were attended by Lieutenant General Stoyan Andreev, adviser to the president on issues of national security. The specific instruments of cooperation were the main topic of discussion. Within 15 days Mr. Ludzhev will send NATO our positions on the basic reforms in the Army. On the basis of those positions an expert team will be formed, which will come to Bulgaria and work with our experts to carry out the various projects. The draft laws on the defense, the Armed Forces, and the Ministry of Defense, and projects related to qualifying cadres and the reform of the military-industrial complex—a total of 20 issues that affect our specific relations—will be discussed.

The defense minister and the ambassadors—representatives of NATO's separate countries—have decided on the ways to develop not only relations between Bulgaria and NATO, but also relations between our Army and the separate member countries. "This idea was approved by Mr. Woerner himself," Mr. Ludzhev said. "We will utilize the advantages of bilateral cooperation with the separate armies, something that will bring to our country not only expert assistance, but also financial aid."

The defense minister has met the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey in connection with the exacerbated military situation in the Balkans. This situation will be discussed also during his forthcoming visit to Greece, and in December, when a Romanian military delegation will visit Bulgaria. "Mr. Woerner personally undertook the commitment to cooperate in resolving the problems in our region," Dimitur Ludzhev said in conclusion.

Zhelev Opens Sofia Conference on Army's Role

AU2111163091 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Nov 91 p 1

["Text" of speech by President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev at opening of international conference on "The Army in Democratic Society" in Sofia on 15 November]

[Text] It gives me pleasure to open the meeting of politicians, military men, and scientists from NATO, the United States, and Bulgaria. The conference on "The Army's Role in Democratic Society" is taking place immediately following two great events—the Rome meeting of the NATO leaders and the second democratic elections in Bulgaria.

The first event opened the way for our country's real association with the NATO bodies preparing the decisions on Europe's security. The second event makes it possible for our state leadership to start implementing the reforms in the name of which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] came to power, including the reform in our national security system.

Two years ago, our national security was mainly based on foreign military guarantees and our own military power. The whole of our economy, science, diplomacy, and intelligence was subordinated to this. This thesis was obligatory for all the member countries of the dissolved Warsaw Pact, and it led to a severe crisis in our national security.

It is now clear that we should seek to obtain the security guarantees that we need in nonmilitary directions—in the economy, national unification, scientific research, and integration into all the European structures.

This premise is embodied in NATO's new strategy that was adopted at the Rome meeting. However, as long as the military imbalances remaining from the time of bloc confrontation, ethnic and border hotbeds of tension, and acute economic differentiation remain uncorrected, it is evident that no state that wants to preserve its existence and prosperity can give up its own army and its own defensive power.

However, the problem lies in defining the kinds of army, structure, weapons, training, links with society, administration, and control that should characterize this defensive power.

This meeting is attended by military specialists, scientists, and politicians of very high caliber, and I would not venture to give them advice on how to resolve these questions. We will study the proposals and conclusions that this meeting presents with immense care, and they will be used in practice in reforming our Armed Forces.

However, as a politician and the commander in chief of our Armed Forces, I must say what I would like to hear from you, namely answers to the following questions: How to develop structures and mechanisms for the Army's operation that will eliminate any chance of the Army being used for purposes similar or identical to those for which the Soviet Army or the Yugoslav Army were used? How to ensure that the Army becomes one of the main guarantees for the irreversibility of the democratic process in Bulgaria? How to make the Army a sure defender of our entire state? How to train our Army using such methods and equipment as to ensure that the Army becomes an integral component of the all-European defensive structures?

I know that there are no prepared models or solutions for these requirements. They are fundamentally new problems that have developed from the radical changes in Bulgaria and throughout the world.

Several Parties Back Zhelev for President

AU2011212191 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Evgeniya Drumeva report: "Who Will Run for President"]

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—After it became clear that the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) will most probably nominate for president Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev—the incumbent head of state, SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev told BTA that the National Coordinating Council of the ruling SDS has discussed several nominations for the vice-presidency. Mr. Nedelchev mentioned only Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova, now an MP of the SDS, who is most likely to be nominated. It seems, however, that the 69-year-old poetess has not decided yet whether to run for the vice-presidency.

A member of the SDS Coordinating Council, who spoke on condition of anonymity, listed before a BTA reporter some more nominees: Mr. Ivan Kurtev, leader of the SDS-affiliated Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Mr. Khristo Biserov, leader of the Green Party, and Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, SDS floorleader and member of the Radical Democratic Party. However, according to the source, these nominations cannot be considered seriously.

Under the legislation, the president and the vice-president are elected as one team. The presidential elections have been scheduled for January 12, 1992 and all candidates should become known by the beginning of December.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, one of the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told journalists yesterday

that the Socialists will either nominate their own candidate or will back an independent one. It is certain, however, that they will not back the incumbent President Zhelev, according to Mr. Tomov.

It is almost certain that the BSP will not nominate its own candidate because "in two years we used all our people and it became clear that no one can thrive in Lilov's 'thick shade'," a member of the BSP senior leadership told BTA, referring to Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the present BSP leader. According to the same source, the Socialists have not decided yet whom to back: Mr. Ginyo Ganev, the former deputy chairman of parliament, and Mr. Dimitur Popov, the former prime minister, are being mentioned in unofficial talks.

The third parliamentary force, the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, has stated officially that it will not nominate its own candidates but will back the SDS candidates instead.

The SDS Centre and the SDS Liberals which, failing to win any seats in parliament, tried to set up a Bulgarian Democratic Centre together with independent politicians, are divided on the question of candidates for the presidency. The Liberals' Party, led by Mr. Petko Simeonov, stated it will support Dr. Zhelev's nomination. Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov and Dr. Petur Dertliev, leaders of the Green Party and the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party respectively, both of which split from the SDS, have not announced their intentions yet. If the Bulgarian Democratic Centre reaches an agreement and nominates its own candidate, the Socialists will most probably back him, according to BSP Deputy Chairman Dimitur Yonchev.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) stated that it will take a "wait-and-see" position and will announce whom it will back later on, while the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party will support Dr. Zhelev's nomination.

Supreme Court Recognizes Green Party's Legitimacy

AU2111183591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Court Recognizes Karakachanov Leader of Green Party"]

[Text] The Supreme Court has revoked the decision of the Sofia City Court, which denied registration to the new Green Party National Council which was elected at the April 1991 second national conference. This decision puts an end to speculations about the legitimacy of the conference and the election of the National Council and Chairman Aleksandur Karakachanov, the Green Party secretary announced.

BSP's Yonchev Defends Stand on Property Issue

AU2111184191 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dimitur Yonchev, member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council Presidium, by correspondent Sonya Stoyanova; place and date not given: "Angry Yonchev Defends Communist Property as a Partisan"]

[Text] [Stoyanova] Mr. Yonchev, do you think that the bill on returning the property of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]—Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to the state will prompt a reaction from your members?

[Yonchev] Yes, there will be a purposeful and organized party reaction.

[Stoyanova] Will you leave the parliament?

[Yonchev] No. We will act in a legal way, through collecting signatures, rallies, and meetings.

[Stoyanova] In 1947 a total nationalization and expropriation of the people's property was conducted, but now you view the bill as confiscation.

[Yonchev] I am not interested in what was done at that time....

[Stoyanova] Since you plead for democracy, Mr. Yonchev, why did you not return the property?

[Yonchev] We returned one half of the property.... The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] somehow acquired 300 vehicles within 18 months....

[Stoyanova] In such a case, what is the problem, Mr. Yonchev? Return the entire property and within 18 months you will also have 300 vehicles.

[Yonchev] The Americans will give nothing to us.

[Stoyanova] The SDS started from scratch....

[Yonchev] Do not tell me that they started from scratch. I know precisely what the roundtable gave them.

[Stoyanova] Ah, yes. One building and seven vehicles....

[Yonchev] Yes, but who gave this to them? Who was it?

[Stoyanova] Lukanov's government. Now I presume that Filip Dimitrov's government will do the same for you and then you will start from scratch.

[Yonchev] Have you heard, by any chance, about the U.S. trade union which is helping Podkrepa?

[Stoyanova] Mr. Yonchev, Podkrepa is a member of an international trade union organization and it is up to that organization to render any assistance it deems appropriate....

[Yonchev] We are members of many organizations....

[Stoyanova] If you are a member of many organizations, you do not have to be concerned with returning the property. Within one year you will be "flooded" with aid....

[Yonchev] No, but then I do not have to address every word you say because this is not really an interview.... Actually, if you want to ask me something—ask.... Otherwise I have the feeling that I am talking to my chair.

Power Production Problems at Kozloduy Plant Noted

AU2111121591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] We start the news with a report from Vratsa. Early this morning Veselin Angelov reported that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has completed refuelling the No. 5 unit with nuclear fuel. The unit has been checked by experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency, and it is expected that the unit will be started up in the near future. However, the question still remains of the condition of the remaining generating units at the plant.

[Angelov] The refuelling of the No. 5 Unit is not the main reason it has been out of action. The main reason for the difficulties over the past two months has now come to light. It is clearly the lack of qualified specialists to operate the unit. It is an open secret that staff members have been leaving the plant because of problems with pay and living conditions, to which one may add the lack of a hospital in Kozloduy.

The No. 2 unit is still operating at 70 percent capacity. Today Engineer Kiril Nikolov, general director of the trust, said that the fate of the unit will be decided at the government level. It is most likely that it will be one of the first units to be shut down. For this reason, the No. 3 and No. 4 units are again operating at full capacity.

Tomorrow the experts will carry out a final check on the No. 5 unit, and it is expected that it will be brought up to its operating capacity of 1,000 megawatts by the end of the year. Thus, the plant will produce 2,880 megawatts of power [words indistinct].

Slovak Government Adopts Stand on 'Power-Sharing'

LD2111183891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The Slovak Government today adopted a stand on the power-sharing disputes and their economic and social consequences. It expressed the conviction that, in the legislative area—in addition to already approved powers—a common state shou'd also have legislative powers in the areas of labor, wages, and social policy. The executive power of the federal state also contains, in addition to the already approved jurisdictions, protection of economic competition, postal services, long-distance telecommunications network, and the rail network. As part of the achieved agreement on the banking and [money] emission system, the Slovak Government considers also such a structure of this system that corresponds fully to the system of a single currency.

The Slovak Government is fully aware of its responsibility for future economic and social development and for the further process of transforming the economy and society and, therefore, expresses its concern over the latest results of talks on the constitutional setup of a common federative state. The talks did not bring the results that the governments expected them to produce. An escalation of tension in society is the consequence of the talks' failure. Such a development and the continuing disputes reached the stage that they are being transferred from politics into economy. Urgent economic and political decisions are being postponed. One of the areas affected by this is the drafting of the Slovak state budget for next year. In the process of the budget's drafting, the number of unfinished problems is so high that it prevents the drafting of the budget. The drafting of the state budgets for 1992 can, under the present circumstances, become an impulse for the split of the federative state rather than a factor of integration contributing to its preservation, says the Slovak Government's stand.

Doubt is being casted also on the principle of citizenship [obcanska spolupatricnost], which was supposed to become one of the ways out in drafting the budgets. It is clear, however, that the principle of citizenship should be an expression of the will to preserve the common federative state. Its application should enable, first of all, the preservation of an equal standard and protection of fundamental social rights of citizens in both republics. This aim can only be achieved if the means that the federative state has at its disposal are used. The Slovak Government realizes that the principle of citizenship can be applied only if the existence of a common state is not doubted and it is conditional to time and substance [as heard]. Political representatives of the republics must, therefore, express their unequivocal will to live in a common federative state. The Slovak Government is of the opinion that the state treaty must not become an institute outside the constitution. Therefore, it rejects any untried ways and experiments and supports only well-tried constitutional steps and mechanisms.

Issues Declaration on Federation

AU2111154891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Nov 91 p 6

[Slovak Republic Government Declaration adopted in Bratislava on 19 November]

[Text] Being aware of its responsibility for the future economic and social development in the Slovak Republic and for the continuing transformation process in the economy and society, the Slovak Republic Government is disquieted by the current results of the talks on the setup of a common federative state. The talks have not yielded the results expected by the governments. As a consequence of the talks' failure, tension in our society is increasing. This course of action and the continuing disputes are spilling over from politics into the economy. Urgent economic decisions are being postponed.

One of the spheres affected is the preparation of the Slovak Republic state budget for next year. Unsolved problems regarding drafting the budget are accumulating to such an extent as to make this task impossible. The creation of the 1992 state budgets under these conditions may become a stimulus for the division of the federative state, rather than an integrating factor contributing to its preservation. The principle of civic solidarity that should be one of the fundamentals for budget drafting is being questioned, despite the fact that it is obvious that this principle should become the expression of mutual willingness to preserve the common state. The implementation of this principle should enable the same level to be retained and should protect the basic social rights of the people in both republics. This objective can only be achieved if the tools available to a federative state are used.

The Slovak Republic Government realizes that the principle of civic solidarity can be implemented only if the existence of the common state is not questioned regarding its duration or essence. This is why political representatives in both republics must unequivocally express their will to live in a common state.

The Slovak Republic Government is convinced that a common state should also have in its jurisdiction, in addition to jurisdiction already agreed in the legislative sphere, legislative powers concerning labor, wage, and social issues. In addition to powers that have been agreed upon, the executive powers of a federative state should also include: the protection of economic competition, postal services, long distance and telecommunications networks, and railways. The Slovak Government is convinced that only a system that will fully ensure the principle of a unified currency should be an integral part of an agreement reached on the banking and currency emission system.

The Slovak Government is of the opinion that the state treaty must not become an extraconstitutional institution. This is why the government rejects all untested

courses of action and experiments and only supports tried and tested constitutional steps and mechanisms.

Carnogursky Reacts to Declaration

AU2111154291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Nov 91 pp 1, 6

["(AM)"-signed report: "Who Outvoted Whom"]

[Text] Bratislava—Since the Slovak Government has not met for almost three weeks, yesterday's program was enriched by additional points that the ministers brought with them, so to speak.

These reports were on security, banking, and finance. Then, the proposal of government members from the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU—VPN], the Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative on adoption of a position on the power sharing disputes and their economic and social consequences caused an agitated discussion. The declaration was accepted by 12 votes to eight. Of course, this remarkable document was the main subject of the questions addressed to Jan Carnogursky at a lobby briefing.

He said, among other things, that the proposal to adopt the declaration had been presented to the government shortly before the beginning of the meeting. In a discussion about the proposal, we heard that some issues mentioned in the declaration had already been approved in the course of the discussions between the presidia of the National Councils—for example, the system of supreme organs, the president, the government, the Federal Assembly, common ministries of defense, foreign affairs, and finances, and other powers at the level of a common state.

"From this point of view, I do not think that it was necessary to repeatedly stress loyalty to the federative state, since this loyalty has been proven in the talks. I personally recommended that we only note this standpoint. I believe that it was not a good political step to present this proposal at a government meeting. From the legal point of view, the declaration is only minimally binding and, for the political parties or the Slovak National Council, of course, it is not binding. I am unable to anticipate the political impact of the declaration, but political parties and movements will apparently discuss it after the event," the Slovak prime minister said. He stated that, in a certain way, the declaration forestalls [prejudikuje] the decision on the still-disputed questions of power sharing by some sectors.

On the subject of the afternoon meeting of the so-called Small Financial Council, the Slovak Republic prime minister said that the Slovak Republic finance minister received a directive from the government concerning the Slovak budget's lower limit under which he must not go. He also mentioned that during the drafting of the budget, too, it is necessary to respect the existing legal status quo in the same way that it was respected when the Slovak National Council rejected the proposal on the declaration of the Slovak Republic's sovereignty, when the same arguments about the existing legal status quo were used.

Pithart Lauds Slovak Action

LD2111222491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by Stanislav Kuzel, following a Czech Government meeting in Prague on 19 November: "A Meeting With the Prime Minister of the Czech Government"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kuzel] Mr. Prime Minister, what is the stand of the Czech government on today's statement of the Government of the Slovak Republic?

[Pithart] Today, just before midday, I received a report on the statement of the Government of the Slovak Republic issued today, and I considered it to be so important that I decided to convene an extraordinary session of the government for 1515 to discuss the new stand of the Government of the Slovak Republic, and we decided to issue the following statement of the Government of the Czech Republic: The Government of the Czech Republic welcomes the stand of the Government of the Slovak Republic on power-sharing disputes and on their economic and social consequences submitted by 12 members of the government of the Slovak Republic for the Civic Democratic Union-VPN [Public Against Violence], the Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Independent Initiative, passed by a vote this morning. The Government of the Czech Republic considers as exceptionally important that part of the stand that stresses that the principle of civic appurtenance [obcanska sounalezitost] can only be applied when the existence of a common state is not doubted and is conditional to time and substance. The Government of the Czech Republic, just like the Government of the Slovak Republic, believes that the unsolved questions concerning a common federative state setup hinder, or even make impossible, the drafting of budgets for 1992.

The Government of the Czech Republic can, in these new circumstances, support such a draft budget that would proceed from the principle of civic appurtenance. By the way, this is the only way balanced budgets can be drafted, including the budget for the Slovak Republic.

The Government of the Czech Republic presumes that the stand of the Slovak Republic will not change on this issue.

[Kuzel] Mr. Prime Minister, in that statement of the Slovak Government there is one more important matter—that the Slovak Government declares that the treaty [smlouva] between the Czech and Slovak republics must not be superior to the constitution.

[Pithart] This is namely the stand that the Presidium of the Czech National Council held at all sessions, including the last one in Papiernicka, and this is, at the

same time, a stand on which the Czech Government has insisted and continues to insist. Naturally, we have not been able to cite all that which we consider important in the report, but the report is available to the mass media; it is not too long and I hope that it will be published in full tomorrow because it now changes the situation indeed. [passage omitted]

[Kuzel] The idea that springs to mind in this connection is that the Slovak Government statement arrived at the right time, since federal and republican budgets are under discussion in Bratislava.

[Pithart] Yes, that is the case. Three finance ministers—of the federation and both republics—met today, while yesterday, on Monday, the Government had to convene for an extraordinary session to equip [Czech Finance] Minister Spacek with a certain mandate. I would like to say, that, following yesterday's reports concerning the Slovak Government's conception of the budget and the conception of the Federal Ministry of Finance, yesterday we did not hold much hope that these talks could lead to a successful end. We equipped Minister Spacek with quite specific mandate that defined the limits of Slovak conceptions and Slovak demands that were not to be overstepped. [passage omitted]

[Kuzel] We have, naturally, already said that the budgets are one issue, but this statement of the Slovak Government could set in motion all the talks between National Councils and could lead to some conclusions on the constitutional setup.

[Pithart] I would not be so certain about this, because it is the National Council presidia that are the partners in the talks, and eventually whole National Councils will participate in them. But what I am certain of is that this step taken by the three coalition political parties—no matter what the result will be—is, in any case, conducive to a speedy clarification of the situation and, from this viewpoint, it gives us an opportunity to make a straightforward decision in situations that are defined in a straightforward manner...

[Kuzel, interrupting] ...and in the foreseeable future...

[Pithart] Right now, in the foreseeable future, of course. It was what I have always wanted. And so, we very much applaud this intrepid step of the three Slovak political parties.

Havel Meets Federal Assembly Presidium 21 Nov

LD2111160591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] No doubt the session of the Federal Assembly Presidium, attended by President Vaclav Havel, is the most important event today. The president arrived at the Federal Assembly at 0900 this morning, and exactly an hour and half later correspondent Stanislav Benda recorded the following interview:

[Benda] Mr. President, how much closer are your views now to those of the Federal Assembly? What did you agree on at the meeting?

[Havel] I have explained in detail to the Presidium the motives that led me to my televised address. I have explained in detail what I mean by the draft bills—I have submitted one of them here already, and most probably I shall submit a second one tomorrow. Then I answered deputies's questions. And, on the whole, I have a feeling that the meeting was businesslike and nonconfrontational, and this feeling is also confirmed by the fact that at the end of the meeting the Presidium members asked me to pay them more frequent visits—that our more frequent communications could contribute to some good things.

[Benda] Are you going to submit all your other proposals, or are you going to withdraw some of them?

[Havel] I shall submit all of them.

[Benda] Of course, we also need a view from the other side. So how does Jozef Stank, a member of the Federal Assembly Presidium, view the meeting with the president of the republic?

[Stank, in Slovak] The president strived, above all, to explain the fact that there seems to be some incorrect interpretation, or possibly incorrect understanding, of his aim. He did not want at all to make the public stand up against the parliament. He wanted naturally to appeal to the sense of responsibility of individual deputies, above all to those who lack responsibility, to draw their attention to the fact that time is running out and that it is necessary to increase initiative and intensity of work. He himself said that he did not envisage that this would meet with such a response from the public.

The response has two sides to it: first, the positive side that it shows the public's activity and interest in these issues. This no doubt is a positive thing, but on the other hand there is also a negative side from which it seems that citizens should, in fact, fight against the parliament. I think that the president did not mean to show the parliament as an enemy and, in fact, his address was such as not to influence public opinion. His aim—which he told us about today—is that he would like to make a speech in the Melantrich [publishing house on Wenceslas Square]. He would like to address a demonstration, or a rally that will be held on Wenceslas Square, and he thinks that it would be a good thing for Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, also to speak or to attend. This fact, I think, already expresses certain ties between the parliament and the president.

I think that the whole atmosphere of the Presidium session was such that it indicated that the Presidium received explanations from the president positively.

[Announcer] President Vaclav Havel and Jozef Stank, member of the Federal Assembly Presidium, were at our

microphone. I shall add to this that Vaclav Havel submitted to parliament today an amendment to Article 142 of the Constitution. Tomorrow he will submit the text of paragraphs for an amendment to the law on referendum. These proposals should be discussed by a joint session of both Chambers of the Federal Assembly in December. The next proposals will be submitted by the president in time for the Federal Assembly to discuss them in January of next year.

Havel Announces December Debate on Referendum

LD2111182491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1610 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at a rally in Wenceslas Square in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens: Thank you all for coming today to give support to me and my proposals. [applause and crowd chants: "Here we are"] I thank all of our fellow citizens throughout the republic for having heard my wish and for having decided to make their will clearly known. [applause] I do not consider this great support as support for myself as an individual but as support for the ideals of tolerance, understanding, and humanism. [applause] I take it as a mobilization of your constitution-making energy. I take it as an expression of your will to live soon in a democratic, justly organized, legal, decent, functioning, prospering, generally respected state serving all its citizens. [applause] I take it as an expression of your longing to enjoy certainty in what kind of state we all—as well as those who come after us—are going to live. [applause]

I am happy that in our society that is being forced to undergo a number of sacrifices these days, civic self-confidence and responsibility for our state have emerged with new strength.

The freely elected parliaments are neither my enemy nor yours. Our enemy is something else: egoism, intolerance, political parties' games, lack of will to understand, and a lack of responsibility toward the interests of the whole—wherever they emerge. [applause]

I do not want to wage a war against the Councils, nor do I call on you to wage one.

The Councils are the fundamental and most important institution of our newly built democracy. The only thing that I demand from our Councils—and above all, from those deputies in the Councils who succumb to the temptation to complicate others' work through obstructions—is to speedily agree on the future form of our state and to create the necessary preconditions for such a consensus. [applause]

These Councils have adopted dozens of important laws. Nevertheless, in order to provide this work of theirs with a purpose, it is necessary for us to be able to know in what sort of a state the adopted laws are going to be valid. [applause]

It is not true that I am treading on the fragile flower of our parliamentary democracy, a flower that I should be watering. On the contrary, I have tried to water it. [crowd chants: "Thank you"]

My impression was that it is not enough to spray it with water; my impression was that it needs a heavy shower of life-giving water. [crowd chants: "It is what it needs"]

This shower has come in the form of a great wave of public will. This shower has brought its first fruit.

I have already held talks with representatives of the main political parties, and this morning I held talks with the Presidium of the Federal Assembly. I bring you good news: The Federal Assembly has decided to speedily discuss my initiatives!

This is, above all, due to you—due to all citizens who made it clearly known that they have the future of our state at heart and that they are willing to do something about it. [applause] Today I have submitted to Mr. Dubcek the first of the two draft bills I have proposed. I shall submit the second one to him tomorrow. It will be an amended bill that will enable you to decide freely upon your future—an amended bill on a referendum. [loud cheering and applause] Both of them will be debated at the [Federal Assembly's] meeting to be held in December.

I shall submit other bills in the course of next few days, and there is a hope that they will be debated at the beginning of January. It seems to me that those deputies who, until now, have not fully understood the seriousness of the situation and the importance of the decisions they will have to make soon are beginning to realize their responsibility. [applause and chanting] I have told them that they need not be afraid of you and that it will be enough if they listen to your urgent voice. [applause] You have elected them and, therefore, you have the right to demand from them to rid you of your uncertainty. Deputies have also elected me. I suppose that they did not elect me to be silent but to work. [applause] I suppose that they did not elect me to be deaf or indifferent to the aspsirations of our citizens, but to look after their needs. [applause and chants] I suppose that they did not elect me to be indifferent to the future of this state but to do my utmost to ensure that this future is a good one. [applause]

It is not necessary that you demonstrate every day—what is necessary is that you remain aware of your responsibility for the interests of the whole and that you pay careful attention to what we do. By we, I mean all of us who have accepted political and constitutional posts.

Without a self-aware, self-confident, and responsible civic society, not even the best politicians can build a really decent democratic state.

The task faced by our deputies, governments, and me is to fulfill what we have promised: that we are going to form the new constitutional basis of our state as a really democratic and just one, as a common state of all its citizens, and as a really democratic federation of our two republics with equal rights. [applause]

The fulfilment of this task could be within reach. Nevertheless, its successful completion needs state-forming will and support of all the citizens of both Czech territory and of Slovakia.

You have showed such a will, and I thank you for this.

Long live a free and decent Czechoslovakia with a new democratic constitution! [crowd chants: "Long live Havel" and sings the Czechoslovak national anthem]

Voting on Referendum Draft Predicted

AU2111211291 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Nov 91 pp 1, 12

[Jiri Kubik article: "Doomed to Perish?"]

[Text] President Vaclav Havel said in his television address that one of the things he intends to present to the Federal Assembly is a draft amendment to the constitutional law on referendums. He also wants it to be possible to hold a referendum if he decides that three-fifths of all Federal Government members are not against it.

To be able to anticipate the fate of this—and of other proposals by the president in the Federal Assembly—let us look at the results of the voting in the chambers when Deputy R. Hrusinsky proposed a negatively formulated question for the referendum.

For any constitutional law to be passed—and this applies to the question figuring in the referendum, too — approval by at least three-fifths of deputies in the Chamber of People, as well as in both parts [Czech and Slovak] of the Chamber of Nations is needed. The existing principle prohibiting majority rule remains in force, and this is why a bill cannot pass if 44 of the 50 deputies present in one part of the Chamber of Nations vote for a bill and only six vote against it or abstain.

Let us suppose that during voting on the president's individual drafts, the following clubs of deputies will vote for their passage: The Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence, the Civic Movement, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Civic Democratic Party, independent deputies elected for the Civic Forum, the Social Democratic Orientation, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement-Coexistence, and the Movement for Self Governing Democracy -Society for Moravia and Silesia I. These are the clubs that were in favor of accepting the negatively formulated question in the referendum, as proposed by Deputy Hrusinsky. Another member of the government coalition—the Christian Democratic Movement—is inclined, in that matter, to adopt the standpoint of other Christian, that is, opposition, parties (the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union) and this means to vote "no".

Deputies on the upper benches of the Chamber will probably continue playing the role of "constructive opposition": the Slovak National Party Club of Deputies will demonstratively leave the hall, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Party of the Democratic Left, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and the Tomis-led faction of the Movement for Self Governing Democracy will certainly vote against or abstain. Only a few opposition deputies will finally step out of line and will express their approval for the proposal.

We have a feeling that voting on the president's amendments will have the same result as the voting in the Federal Assembly on 13 November on the question contained in the referendum. A total of 45 votes in both parts of the Chamber of Nations and 90 votes of all the elected deputies in the Chamber of People are needed for the bill to pass. Of the total number of 300 deputies, only 230 were present in the hall. In the Czech part of the Chamber of Nations, 47 deputies voted in favor of the text of the question to appear in the referendum, as did 22 deputies in the Slovak part, and 79 in the Chamber of People. The proposal did not pass....

Havel Tells KDH ...ders of 'Legal Chaos' Fear

LD2211133491 Prag... Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By reporter Marie Fleissigova]

[Text] President Havel told Jan Carnogursky and other members of the delegation of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] that he is not afraid that we will rebuild the federation or that the Czechs and Slovaks will split. He is, however, afraid that, in the process, a state of legal chaos will occur and become fertile ground for demagogy. According to Vaclav Havel, the good thing about the support for the president is that citizens are becoming more active. The problem lies in the fact that some people, including deputies, interpret his proposals as attacks on the Federal Assembly. President Havel rejects such an interpretation.

Jan Carnogursky declared that the Christian Democrats support the proposal for a new parliamentary structure and the draft bill saying the federal constitution will have to be ratified by the National Councils. They do not trust the draft bill on a referendum, and they need to study the election law. A dissolution of the parliament and early election do not seem to them to be practical. The Christian Democratic Movement rejects rule by presidential decrees.

The representatives of the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] support the principles of the president's initiative. They appreciate the endeavor to overcome the present deadlocked situation

in the constitutional talks and agree with the president that economic prosperity depends on the stability of the state and on the maintenance of political plurality. The separation of the economies would halt the economic reform and endanger the living standards of Czechs and Slovaks.

Jan Holcik, chairman of another Slovak party—the Democratic Party—voiced concern at a news conference held in Prague today that Slovakia, in the event of the disintegration of the state, could follow the fate of Slovenia. Due to that country's populist leaders, one-quarter of the people there are jobless, the currency has been devalued, food prices have increased sharply, and young people are emigrating. According to Jan Holcik, the majority of people in Slovakia want a just federation.

At a meeting with Bratislava journalists, representatives of the Hungarian Independent Initiative declared that they agree with the assessment of the dramatic situation as presented by the president of the republic. They support the draft amended bill on a referendum, but expressed caution about the the possibilities of dissolving the parliament and setting up a federal council.

KDH Criticizes Havel Proposals

LD2211043791 Prague CSTK in English 1808 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CSTK)—Jan Carnogursky, Slovak premier and head of Slovakia's Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), today charged that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel "overdramatised the situation" with his proposals for overcoming the constitutional impasse in the country.

"His proposals are not thought out clearly enough", Carnogursky told journalists after he and other KDH representatives met with Havel at Prague Castle. "I think for that reason they will not achieve their goal".

He said the rallies that have been held in several cities in support of Havel's proposals are dramatising the situation further.

Carnogursky said former Czechoslovak president and communist party chief Gustav Husak who died on Monday deserved credit for his part in making Slovakia an equal partner with the Czech lands in a Czechoslovak Federation. But he added that Husak's post-invasion policy of "normalisation had a destrucive effect on Czechoslovak society".

Early Elections 'Acceptable'

AU2211122891 Prague CSTK in English 0814 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 21 (CSTK)—Speaking in an interview for the daily of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) "SLOVENSKY DENNIK" about his coming meeting with President Havel today, Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky said the Slovak Government and parliament leaders have accepted the concept of a common state as it was drawn by Havel in his speech in the Czechoslovak parliament on September 24, but the Czech side has not yet done so. Carnogursky said the dialogue should therefore be conducted with Czech Government and parliament representatives so that they accept the idea of conclusion of a Czech-Slovak agreement.

Carnogursky says he doubts that the introduction of a presidential system also in Slovakia would be justified. But passing a law on a new structure of the Federal Assembly (parliament) and calling early general elections are quite acceptable, he said.

Havel Receives Political Representatives 19 Nov

AU2111152791 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Nov 91 p 1

[CSTK report: "The President Has Initiated a Series of Talks With Representatives of the Parties and Movements"]

[Text] Prague—CSFR President V. Havel received a delegation from the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]—headed by V. Klaus, ODS chairman and federal deputy prime minister and finance minister—at Prague Castle yesterday. Thus, he initiated a series of talks with representatives of the political parties and movements.

Agreement on fundamental aims and on the necessity of resolving the current complicated constitutional and legal situation by adopting constitutional and legislative measures, especially in the Federal Assembly, was expressed in a discussion that lasted for more than one hour. According to its chairman, the ODS considers it essential to continue with various kinds of initiatives. "We would consider it worse," said V. Klaus literally, "if we were to remain passive and let developments take their own course." "I have to say," continued V. Klaus, "that we have raised questions about whether this initiative [made by President Havel in his address to the nation on 17 November] attacked more than was perhaps necessary the democratically elected parliaments and democratically behaving political parties. We feel that, on the contrary, it is necessary to support them as much as possible during this difficult period."

President V. Havel emphasized that his initiative is aimed at activating parliament so that it overcomes its current legislative difficulties with the help of the citizens.

Yesterday, the president also received representatives of the Civic Democratic Alliance, headed by Chairman Pavel Bratinka. They welcomed the president's initiative as an appeal to heighten civic activity and the politicians' responsibilities for fulfilling their electoral programs. They also appreciated the fact that this initiative has transferred the resolution of our constitutional and legal problems to the Federal Assembly. At the same time,

they underlined their loyalty to the principles of a federative state and parliamentary democracy.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 20 November on page 2, under the headline "The Beginning of a Series of Talks," carries a 300-word CSTK report on President Havel's meetings with political representatives at Prague Castle. According to the report, the president also received Federal Assembly Chairman A. Dubcek, Federal Assembly First Deputy Chairman Z. Jicinsky, and Federal Assembly Chamber of People Chairman R. Battek. The report states that "They discussed the president's proposals for constitutional laws put forward in his Czechoslovak Television address on 17 November." The report concludes by stating that the Federal Assembly representatives "welcomed the president's initiative and expressed their resolve to transform the fundamental principles contained in the proposals into specific legislative steps."]

Dubcek Criticizes Miklosko Remarks, Wants Accord

AU2111160891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Nov 91 p 3

[CSTK report: "We Must Reach an Accord"]

[Text] Bratislava—I consider the statement Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko made Tursday on television, that the Slovak and the Czech political representatives are in conflict for the third time during the more than 70 years of coexistence, an imprecise oversimplification, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek said yesterday.

"As early as March 1968, the political program included the task of building our state on the federal principle of two equal republics, and it was met with understanding by the Czechs, Slovaks, and ethnic minorities. This was precisely the reason for the inability of the Soviet adversaries of the revival process to incite nationalist clashes and utilize the resulting opportunity to overturn the democratic process. The federation was our democratic choice, not something imposed by the Soviets.

"It does not correspond to historical truth that all the Czech representatives lacked understanding, and that the entire Slovak leadership and the people would adopt the Soviet Union as their guardian.

"After all, it was at the time of a great political struggle that ended with a Pyrrhic victory by the normalizers, while the battle fronts were within both our national communities.

"I completely agree with the Slovak National Council chairman with respect to the need today for talks, meetings, and continuing communication. I do not like to use the word must, but we really must reach an agreement now if we do not want to become a destabilizing force in the heart of Europe."

Asked why none of the draft referendum questions were passed in the Federal Assembly, Dubcek replied that it was probably because there were too many questions. According to him, the most important reason was that no question was phrased that would be the result of consensus between the National Councils. He observed that, without such a consensus, a decision about the referendum cannot be made. He said that an agreement on the treaty is still possible. As he said, the Federal Assembly Constitutional Commission under his leadership presented to the deputy clubs a working draft of the paragraph-by- paragraph text of the constitution, with the part on the relationship between the republics and the federation omitted, and this should be dealt with in the draft treaty. Therefore, he also appealed to the representatives of the government coalition to contribute to reaching the consensus between the National Council presidia, and said that should the parliaments not manage this task, it will be necessary to solve it through elections. *"Therefore, we should intensify our work on the preparations of the electoral law, because we will need it. I also recommended that we just draft an amendment to the constitutional law on the Czecho-Slovak federation that would, prior to the elections, transform the structure of the Federal Assembly. The final solution would then depend on the new national council and federation bodies following the elections."*

Pithart Survives 'Indirect' No-Confidence Vote

AU1811143391

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 November on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word "pv"-signed report entitled "Prime Minister Pithart Did Not Fall in the Czech National Council." The report deals with the 14 November session of the Czech National Council (CNR) "when the post of the prime minister was at stake." On the same day, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 300-word interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by a "pv"-signed RUDE PRAVO correspondent entitled "They Wanted Me To Resign." The interview was conducted in the CNR building on 14 November.

According to the RUDE PRAVO report, at the 14 November CNR session the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) put forward a draft resolution expressing disagreement with the "one-sided assessment of the development of the Czechoslovak state and of the role played in it by the Czech side" in Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart's 9 November speech on Czechoslovak Television. The draft resolution also blamed Petr Pithart's "policy of concessions" toward the Slovak side "ever since the talks at Trencianske Teplice" for the "situation in which the talks on the state setup find themselves today." The second part of the draft resolution then qualified as "unauthorized" any "proposals for talks between parts of the federation on establishing a confederation."

The RUDE PRAVO reporter describes the draft resolution as an "indirect motion of no-confidence in the prime minister."

According to the report, 61 CNR deputies endorsed the first part of the ODA draft, while 91 voted against it or abstained. A total of 74 deputies endorsed the second part of it, with 82 deputies voting against it or abstaining. Support for the ODA draft came from deputies for the Civic Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian and Democratic Union, and, "partly," also from deputies representing the Romany Civic Initiative. Deputies for the Civic Movement, the Democratic Left, Civic Forum-Independents, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy, on the other hand, opposed the ODA draft. "The majority of deputies, thus, actually refused to pass a vote of no-confidence in the Czech prime minister," the RUDE PRAVO reporter says.

In his interview for RUDE PRAVO, Petr Pithart confirms that the proponents of the resolution "wanted me to resign." He adds that, in preparing his 9 November television address, he was "aware of the risks" this entailed. Nonetheless, he decided to make the speech because the future of Czech-Slovak relations in the "seismically unstable Central European region" is a more important concern than his own political future.

Asked whether he has learned any lesson from the attempt to bring about his resignation, Pithart says: "Of course, one must think thrice before taking such an unconventional step [as the 9 November television speech]. But one must also reckon with the existence of situations that compel one to take this or any other unconventional step. At any rate, I have definitely not learned the lesson that the best thing is to sit still and look carefully around to avoid any collisions."

Dienstbier on Security Risks of State Breakup

AU2111131991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Jiri Dienstbier, CSFR deputy prime minister and foreign minister and chairman of the Civic Movement, by Branislav Janik; place and date not given: "We Need Each Other!"]

[Text] Civic Movement [OH] Chairman Jiri Dienstbier also discussed the problems associated with the constitutional and legal arrangement at the movement's recent assembly. We interviewed him on this very issue:

[Janik] How does the Civic Movement evaluate the current state of Slovak-Czech relations?

[Dienstbier] We all know what the current situation is regarding the constitutional and legal arrangement. The temptations of nationalism are converging with right-wing fundamentalism. However, I think this is just an excuse for the profound incomprehension of the need to create a truly democratic and joint state following the demise of the unitarian state and federalized totalitarianism. The negotiations have been long and complicated, but I feel that the issue does not involve arguments about jurisdiction (for example, as foreign minister I have none at all with either Mr. Demes or Mrs. Hradska), but involves a specific emotive problem on the part of some Slovak representatives who reflect the feeling that Slovakia has remained unequal. This was, undoubtedly, the case in certain respects—for example, after World War II when the national principle did not apply or when federalized totalitarianism was gradually established after 1968.

[Janik] Do we need each other?

[Dienstbier] The joint state is not only necessary from an economic point of view, it is also necessary from a security point of view. No one is able to calculate the real economic losses we would suffer following the state's break up or separation. No one can tell how this would be reflected in economic reform. Although we in the Czech Lands would possibly pay less for separation than Slovakia, we would still pay very heavily. The movement I represent proceeds from the premise that we need each other, and we will do everything within our power to support this.

[Janik] However, as foreign minister, you undoubtedly also think about the foreign policy repercussions and the geopolitical situation.

[Dienstbier] If the Republic were to break up, Slovakia would find itself in the instability curve that stretches from Russia to Yugoslavia. The current Hungarian cabinet and the Hungarian opposition unequivocally refuse to cast doubts on European borders, including the borders with Hungary's neighbors. Nonetheless, the logic of disintegration conforms to its own laws. We see this in Yugoslavia, but the reaction to it is not always controlled. Ethnic Hungarian citizens living in Slovakia are today loyal to the CSFR, but if the national principle is applied, will they not demand that the same principle also be applied for the Hungarian ethnic minority?

[Janik] Is the situation on our eastern borders not more dangerous?

[Dienstbier] We know that democratic development in the Soviet Union is not yet assured. Aleksandr Yakovlev told me that the fate of Soviet democracy hangs on this winter. A state as large as France and with approximately the same number of inhabitants lies beyond our eastern border—the Ukraine. We are interested in ensuring that the Ukrainian people establish a democratic state, but, at the same time, we know that there are also extremist forces here. There are nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory and a Ukrainian Army—larger than the German Army—should be established in the future. If, God forbid, democratic development were overturned and a nationalist dictatorship came to power, it would be easy to imagine what this could mean for our security.

[Janik] European strategy based on strengthening democracy and development in our country undoubtedly has an influence on this.

[Dienstbier] The issue is how successfully and quickly democracy is strengthened and how successfully and quickly prospects for future prosperity are created in places where this can be achieved in a relatively short period and also how this area can be pushed further toward the East. The stronger and more stabilized democratic Europe becomes, the greater are the chances of asserting democracy in places where it is still in doubt. From this point of view, the joint state is our greatest certainty, a certainty that we should defend in our own interest.

[Janik] Despite this, increasing national identity is also talked about throughout the world. How should this be perceived within a European context?

[Dienstbier] Modern European political and economic development is really oriented toward increasing our personal, group, cultural, and national identity. However, not as an isolated and isolating phenomenon, but as a creative element of European integration. In my opinion, this means that the Slovaks' and Czechs' expression of their national identity is a far cry from establishing their own national state. Our nations will be known and recognized in accordance with the size of their contribution toward asserting the values of European civilization.

[Janik] If our representatives do not reach an agreement, are other forms for our coexistence possible?

[Dienstbier] Of course, we could also agree on other forms for our neighborliness—on a confederation or an even freer union. We need to remain friends under all circumstances. The Civic Movement is prepared to do everything within its powers to ensure that the joint state is preserved. However, this also depends on what prevails on the Slovak political scene and on what develops on the Czech political scene, because nationalist elements are also manifesting themselves here. Let me repeat that our movement proceeds from the premise that we need each other, and we are doing everything to support this.

Jezek Discusses Privatization Program Delay

AU2011175591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Nov 91 p 14

[Report on interview with Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration of national property and its privatization, by the French newspaper LIBERATION; place and date not given: "About the Large-Scale Privatization and the Federation"]

[Text] Tomas Jezek, Czech Republic minister for the administration of national property and its privatization, justifies in yesterday's issue of LIBERATION the two-month delay in the large-scale privatization program in the Czech Republic by small business interests and general time pressure.

In the interview, he also unequivocally speaks in favor of the division of the Czecho-Slovak federation.

"The original deadline (for the large-scale privatization) put the small businessmen who intend to submit alternative proposals for industry privatization at a disadvantage. These people were pushed aside. The directors of large enterprises refused to provide the necessary economic data to them. If the new businessmen in this country were not able to get involved in privatization, all the old structures would remain in their place. Then the finance minister set an unrealistic deadline for us. We would have had to analyze no fewer than 3,000 privatization projects in a single month. That is madness. I could explain this to a child, but Vaclav Klaus does not want to hear. He is conducting his election campaign without a care for economic facts. It is irresponsible," Jezek said in explaining why the Czech Government changed the date of large-scale privatization. He added, however, that the intended privatization program is not threatened.

The minister pointed out the complexity of the task and observed that, in Slovakia, large-scale privatization encounters even greater obstacles: "Slovak Privatization Minister Ivan Miklos is politically isolated. The Bratislava government wants to slow down the economic reform. Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky wants Slovakia to have its own, independent privatization policy," he said.

According to Jezek, the current crisis of the federation threatens the transfer to a market economy: "If the Czech Republic could implement its privatization reform on its own, without Slovakia, everything would go much more smoothly. Take the large-scale privatization: Everything indicates that no one, or almost no one, not even Slovaks, wants to buy shares of Slovak companies."

Asked whether he favors disintegration of the federation, Jezek replied: "Yes. The Slovaks have only one strategy: To maneuver so as to attain their independence. The Czech leading officials are increasingly tempted to give up. Eventually we will say 'yes' to the division. If this uncertain situation continues, we will suffer economically as a consequence. The division will take place but, unlike in Yugoslavia, without the use of force. There has not been a bloody past between the Czechs and the Slovaks. That is the difference."

The division of the federation will, according to Jezek, bring the following advantages: "A clear and clean break would make possible the formation of a more effective bond between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It is necessary to end arguments and begin real economic cooperation. Regarding the other issues, we put our money on our integration into Europe."

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 16 November on page 1 adds: "Federal Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus reacted to Minister Jezek's interview for LIBERATION in yesterday's 'Radioforum' (radio program). He described the interview as an 'outrage' and 'inconsideration,' adding that dirty laundry should be washed at home. 'I reply to similar questions by foreign reporters: These are our own affairs that should hold no interest for you....' Vaclav Klaus said."]

Funding To Convert Arms Production Approved

LD2211044291 Prague CSTK in English 1743 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today approved funding for specific plans to convert arms production to civilian uses in 1991, earmarking 1,200 million crowns (80 per cent) from the state budget for armaments manufacturers in Slovakia and 300 million (20 per cent) for enterprises in the Czech Republic (1 USD; 30 crowns).

The closure of arms plants threatens thousands of jobs, particularly in the Slovak Republic, where the weapons industry is concentrated.

Chief of Staff on Army Budget, NATO Relations

AU2211121891 Prague CSTK in English 1731 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 20 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Army is asking for a 50 percent rise in its budget for 1992.

Army Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Karel Pezl today told journalists the Army's budget next year should be set at 34-39 thousand million crowns. The 1991 budget is 26.5 thousand million crowns.

He said military expenditures need to be maintained to avoid higher outlays in the future.

"Rearming the Czechoslovak Army would be an unbelievably expensive process", he said.

Pezl said Army priorities next year include the transfer of units from western areas of the country to the southern and eastern border regions, professionalisation, and making cuts in heavy military equipment.

High prices for western military equipment would keep modernisation efforts at a minimum, he said.

Pointing to the current instability in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, Pezl called NATO the guarantor of Czechoslovakia's military security. He said Czechoslovakia is continuing to expand its ties with NATO.

Government Decisions on Farm Subsidies, Benefits

AU2011211091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Nov 91 p 2

["jop"-signed report: "Relief for Farmers"]

[Text] A report on earnings in agricultural enterprises and draft measures for their improvement took up several hours of yesterday's CSFR Government session in Prague.

The interest rate on loans for permanently maintained stock was lowered from 13 to 10.5 percent for agricultural enterprises and procuring and marketing organizations. The loans were transferred to the Konsolidacni Bank. Interest payments on these loans for the last quarter of this year, amounting to some 400 million korunas, were postponed until next year.

The Federal Government recommended to the republic governments that they suspend payments of the tax on the volume of wages and remuneration for agricultural cooperatives and state farms for the months of November and December 1991. It also recommends that for independent farmers, the republic governments reduce by 30 percent in all groups the average standard yield per hectare used to calculate income taxes. The government also made it possible for the agricultural cooperatives, which were ordered to use state- organization properties burdened with bank loans, to be included in the state enterprise debt clearing program.

CSFR Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said at a news conference that, although agreement has been reached on several issues, the subsidy policy form remains to be discussed. Dlouhy stated that overall losses from agricultural enterprises will amount to 15.5 billion korunas. After subsidies are added to profits (11.4 billion korunas), the final result as of 31 December is expected to be 4.1 billion korunas [in the red]. The impact of the reduction in interest rates is expected to amount to approximately 80 million korunas. Should the republic governments decide to suspend the payments of taxes on the volume of salaries, it would represent support for the farmers in the amount of 5.219 billion korunas. Dlouhy stressed that this would be only a suspension, with republic governments returning to this issue in the first half of 1992 and either insisting on payment or charging the losses against the state budget.

According to Dlouhy, nobody doubted the forecasts on domestic prices and consumption, or the adopted regulatory measures for protection of the domestic market, the role of the Federal Fund for Market Regulation next year, and the guaranteed prices of selected commodities for next year. The prices are 3,000 korunas per tonne of alimentary wheat, 5.4 korunas per liter of first-class milk, and 28 korunas per kilogram of live weight of slaughter steers, oxen, and heifers. The Slovak representatives requested that the last price be 35 korunas per 1 kilogram of live weight.

A long discussion took place on items to be subsidized. The Slovak Government favors equalization of the conditions in the two republics (a contribution of 6.1 billion korunas to the Slovak Republic budget), and to begin with subsidies only at a later date. At the same time, the Slovak side requested quotas for the items with guaranteed prices. The Federal Government has not accepted this request.

The government gave preliminary assent to a subsidy of the 1992 federal Fund for Market Regulation in the amount of 6 billion korunas. The issue of the so-called submarginal conditions will be settled within two weeks, not as a question of maintaining agriculture in these regions, but as an aid to solving the whole range of social issues such as, for instance, the creation of jobs etc.

SFRY Agrees To Elimate Border Minefield Hazards

LD2211035691 Budapest MTI in English 1844 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 21 (MTI)—Yugoslavia will eliminate hazards arising from its army's planting of mines close to the Hungarian border, states a protocol signed at the Belgrade session of the Hungarian-Yugoslavian joint committee investigating border incidents.

The delegations at the discussion were headed by Brigadier General Balazs Novaky, commander of the Hungarian Border Guard, and Predrag Culafic, advisor to the Yugoslavian Federal Ministry of the Interior.

The idea of opening further border-crossing points also came up at the meeting, but is outside the committee's jurisdiction, Novaky said.

At the meeting he requested the Yugoslavian side to prove allegations of violations of their airspace by Hungarian agricultural planes. Moreover, he proposed discussing the Yugoslav accusations at joint committee sessions.

Fur Says 24-Hour Border Alert To Continue

LD2211035991 Budapest MTI in English 1926 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Though no Yugoslavian jets have violated Hungarian airspace during the past week, Hungarian planes still had to take off on 12 occasions on preventive missions, Defence Minister Lajos Fur announced at today's government session.

At her usual press briefing, government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said the defence minister had confirmed that the increased 24-hour alert would remain in effect for troops stationed near the border.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky reported to the government about his visit to London and his Brussels talks on the Hungarian association agreement.

The government discussed and adopted the bill on the 1992 state budget, which will go before parliament next week. The budget deficit next year will be in the range of 70 billion forints, with expenditures decreasing from this year's 33.6 per cent of GDP to 31.7 per cent.

Keleti Explains Redeployment of Troops

AU2211111591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Slight Regrouping Announced in TIME"]

[Text] In connection with the conclusions reached in a report published in TIME magazine [on a possible Hungarian action plan in case of Serbian atrocities in areas inhabited by ethnic Hungarians] we asked Gyorgy Keleti whether the Hungarian forces are really moving southwards.

[Keleti] The Hungarian Army has carried out some slight redeployments in a southern direction, mainly in order to strengthen the 24-hour alert in the military barracks along the border with Yugoslavia. In addition, our air force has carried out some redeployment connected with the increased demand for aerial patrols after the Barcs incident. Our ministry informed the public about these movements. In addition, there are some troop movements that are not connected with the situation in Yugoslavia. These movements are part of the armed forces reform plan aimed at carrying out a more proportional distribution of our armed forces. A brigade was sent to Kalocsa from Eger. This redeployment was also officially announced in the press.

Jeszenszky on EC Negotiations, SFRY Sanctions

LD2011164891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] It has not yet been possible to sign the association agreement between Hungary and the Common Market because representatives of the European Community made unexpected proposals on what schedule Hungary should apply in the breakdown of restrictions against the products of western countries.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky talked about this in his statement given to BBC Radio. He added that in line with Hungarian interests, we have already put forward counterproposals. On the sanctions against Yugoslavia ordered by the Common Market, he said that those countries which have almost no economic links with Yugoslavia find them easy to comply with. However, the southern neighbor is an important economic partner of Hungary's. In his view, a truly obligatory sanction could be, for example, an oil embargo ordered by the Security Council.

Hungary Ready To Initial EC Association Treaty

LD2211131191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Hungarian delegation is ready to adopt the draft text of the Common Market association agreement, that is, to initial it. Endre Juhasz, leader of the delegation, said this following the end of the negotiation process in Brussels yesterday. The final coordination of the documents is still to be completed, the delegation leader said, adding that the signing now only depends on the EC's decision.

Shevardnadze Visit Cancelled; Treaty on Schedule

LD2111213191 Budapest MTI in English 1547 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will not visit Budapest, but this should not hinder the signing of a new Hungarian-Soviet treaty this year, a Hungarian Foreign Ministry official told MTI today.

The official said there is no connection between Shevardandze's failure to visit and the Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's planned visit to Moscow. The official referred to a TASS report that Shevardnadze had cancelled all foreign trips scheduled for this year so as to focus his attention on the internal situation of the Soviet Union.

The official added that, in principle, there is no obstacle to the Hungarian-Soviet treaty to be signed by Antall this year, even if it has not been initialled by the foreign ministers beforehand, the official said.

In the meantime, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry asked its Soviet partners whether and how they plan to modify the schedule of bilateral visits.

Economic Effects of Soviet Insolvency Contemplated

AU2111114891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Nov 91 p 13

[Report by Emilia Papp: "Soviet Union—On the Verge of Insolvency"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's ability to pay has spectacularly weakened, and news has it that it might declare itself insolvent. How can this affect the Soviet state debts owed to Hungary? Although these are not bank loans but Hungary's surplus that arose from interstate relations, ultimately, this is a debt of the Soviet Union in convertible currency, that is in U.S. dollars.

At first, we wanted to get an answer from the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] but since the settlement of the debt is a matter for the Ministry of International Economic Relations [NGKM] department head Gyorgy Mennich was only able to say that the Hungarian demand accumulated in running payments amounted to somewhat more than $2 billion, according to MNB calculations using the known 0.92 multiplier. However, for the time being, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations disputes the veracity of some $100 million out of the MNB figures. According to an MNB expert, the amount of the debt has not been put down in writing yet, but this may be done in the coming weeks. In the end, the two partner ministries will have to agree over the disputed amount.

The NGKM starts from the premise that insolvency hopefully will not be declared, and the Soviet Union will presumably receive loans from Western countries from which it can repay the capital. Only the interest payments would remain, and even the payment of those is uncertain. In the NGKM's view, for the time being, the fate of the accumulated debts owed to Hungary is not affected by all this. It was acknowledged that neither the final amount of debt (the NGKM talks about an amount of $1.7 billion), nor the method of repayments or interest payment obligation are put down in writing. Views came closer on the point that repayments should start in 1992 and be made in equal portions for three years. Experts referred to the fact already mentioned by newspapers that a written agreement was achieved with the Russian Federation on starting to repay their part of the debt, namely $300 million to $350 million, from 1992. However, it has not been agreed whether this amount will be paid in cash or with goods.

The difference between the MNB's and the NGKM's figures on debt is explained by the fact that the NGKM subtracted the amount of Hungarian debt owed to the Soviet Union for an earlier loan, calculated in U.S. dollars by using the same 0.92 multiplier.

As for the unclear interest conditions, experts told us that the Soviet partner talks about the interest on former ruble loans, which is 4 to 5 percent, while the Hungarian side talks about world market interest levels. However, it is likely that, in case the Soviet Union is only able to pay by goods then these goods will be taken into account at world market prices.

Expert opinions differ as to the effects of a possible Soviet insolvency. Laszlo Csaba, a researcher at the KOPINT-DATORG said in one of his recent studies that, before the Soviet insolvency came to the open, Soviet securities had been sold for 70-75 percent of their nominal value at the secondary market. This price applies to the money owed to large Western companies whose negotiating position and bargaining power is many times stronger than ours, therefore, the price of debt owed to Hungary will definitely be much lower. According to Laszlo, based on this situation, Hungary would have to put up with considerable losses if it tried to sell its demands on the money market. It is not hard to figure out how these prices would change after the declaration of [Soviet] insolvency.

Goncz, Jeszenszky Comments on Statue of Limitations

AU2211104491 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] London, 19 November (MTI)—The prosecution of those guilty of murder, treason, or manslaughter who escaped trial under communism remains a hot issue even after the November 4 passage of a bill lifting the statute of limitations.

The bill, which allows the trial for capital offenses committed between December 21, 1944 and May 2, 1990, was the subject of an interview by FINANCIAL

TIMES correspondent Judy Dempsey with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz in London today.

"Should the Constitutional Court clearly declare the law on limitations to be constitutional, I shall immediately sign it," Goncz said. "Any possible objections will be dealt with by the parliament, but will not affect the enforcement of the law. I believe that the people have a right to justice, to become familiar with the actual situation and also to pass judgements."

As was reported on Monday, Goncz requested the Constitutional Court to comment on the law, which was adopted by parliament on November 4 but has not yet gone into effect because of questions surrounding its constitutionality.

Goncz said bringing criminals to justice is necessary, "but only within the boundaries of a constitutional state."

"The situation in Hungary is not the same as in Czechoslovakia or in Poland where many people are affected by the spirit of collective responsibility. There is no such thing in our country and a witch-hunt is out of the question," said Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky to British journalists.

"Murderers and traitors have to be persecuted," he said, though conceding that in the case of the latter the situation "is rather controversial. There will be no collective punishment, but cases will be judged individually. Members of the communist party, and even of the communist hierarchy, can only be tried for concrete crimes."

Horn Views Socialist Party Role, Prospects

AU2111125591 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 19 Nov 91 pp 12-13

[Interview with Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by Janos Hollos; place and date not given: "Tulip-Like Party Secretaries—The Caretaker Effect Comes Back"]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] held a national conference on 16 November. The position of the left wing deteriorated not only in Hungary but in the other former socialist countries, too. Although conservative politicians also claim that a firm left-wing party is needed on our political scene, the successors of the former state parties are unable to find their place under the new circumstances.

[Hollos] I think it was not by accident that you opened today's conference with a poem by Attila Jozsef. The most important line in this poem says the following: "This is not the way I imagined the order..."

[Horn] We wanted to convey that we imagined many things differently in 1988 and 1989. In my lecture, I tried to show the trends that have emerged in Hungary, and if these trends gain ground and become exclusive, I am sure that they will not serve our society and our nation.

Onward Toward the Economy!

[Hollos] In your concluding speech, you said a dictatorship could easily emerge if we do not cooperate.

[Horn] I am convinced of this. I increasingly experience cases in which otherwise honest people are drifting with this wave, both in the parliament and the government. Some sort of a dilemma has become clear for us, namely the question whether a lack of political and governing experience or a lack of professional knowledge has led to the many mistakes that characterize Hungary's government today. We must conclude that there is also a real professional dilettantism here, like in legislature and other areas too. There is a great deal of haste, disorganization, and inconsistency in everyday life. At the same time, a firm trend is emerging, a deliberate trend aimed at settling for a long-term and conservative right-wing political line full of anachronistic elements.

[Hollos] This is only natural on the part of the government, is it not?

[Horn] The executive power realized that it is not enough to consolidate its power through political means, but it must also gain economic positions by all possible means. But how? On the one hand, there is an ideological basis for this that is declared on various occasions. The big anti-communist campaign and the constant claim that all our problems derive from the attempt of the old regime to salvage itself are not accidental phenomena. Nothing of this is true. On the contrary, a lot of people, including experts, are replaced with the people of the governing party. In many places, the same former party secretaries are now placed in managerial positions in tulip colors [reference to the symbol of the governing party during elections]. In other words, the problem is not the goals of the government and the extent to which it wants to consolidate its own power, but the means used to achieve these goals. For example, a certain counterselection is again gaining ground in personnel policy, namely that allegiance to a government coalition party counts more than talent and professional knowledge. All this could lead to extreme distortions and, in my opinion, is in contrast with the things that the majority of our society desire.

[Hollos] In your speech, you also mentioned the fact that a militant group within the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] represents this tough line and that, practically, you do not put the government on the same level with this militant group. In your opinion, how strong is this militant group, if it really exists?

[Horn] It definitely exists, and it is connected primarily to the faction leader and his supporters. Their will prevails in parliament and, if necessary, they try to force those who do not follow this trend to obey through threats, denunciations, and various other means.

Ten Thousand Denunciations

[Hollos] Are there concrete examples for this?

[Horn] I have many acquaintances among the MDF deputies in parliament, people with whom I discuss matters regularly. When we discuss in private, they complain a lot about the various phenomena, endeavors, and different things. I very much regret that people who do not agree with all this are unable to take an adequate stand against all this, or they do not have enough power to do so.

[Hollos] It also transpired from the opening speech that, in your view, the popularity of the MSZP has increased. However, I think that your political influence has decreased. You can now interfere in the legislature less than at the beginning of the change in the regime. Is it possible that this contradiction is the reason for the recent much stronger accusations directed against the MDF and the government parties by you personally and by other MSZP leaders too? In your speech in parliament on the occasion of the debate on the draft bill on the III/III Department, you went so far as to say that 10,000 denunciations have already arrived since the adoption of the Zetenyi-Takacs bill. Many people regarded this as a bluff.

[Horn] Let us separate the questions. First, the issue of our political influence did not emerge this way but in the way of the opportunities and chances of the opposition to interfere in the processes today. The characteristic thing generally is that the coalition, that is strong, firm, and has a majority of about 59 percent, will accept everything submitted by the government, or every proposal submitted by its own deputies. The Zetenyi-Takacs proposal was submitted by two deputies, and not by the government. As for the aforementioned parliamentary speech, several people, including a Smallholders' deputy, blamed me for accusing this nation and calling Hungary a country of denunciators, and they denied the existence of any such practice in Hungary. I did not want to take the floor again, but it is a little strange that a Smallholders' deputy says this today, namely that there are no denunciations in Hungary and that we are not prone to do such things. As is well known, the phenomenon of denunciation spread and gained ground after 1945, in the Rakosi era, after 1956, and now again.

As for the 10,000 denunciations, we received information from various places—from various organizations, persons, and people who sympathize with us, and not necessarily socialist party followers—that they had already formulated a lot of reports and thousands of denunciations and sent them to different places. Well, on the basis of all this, I said that the number of denunciations exceeded 10,000. I would be the happiest person if there were no more than 100 or 1,000 denunciations. Unfortunately, I fear that a house caretaker effect will again prevail in Hungary, something that has repeatedly worked here, and neighbors will denounce neighbors, and enemies will denounce their enemies. One can find the widest pretexts for this. A former gentleman of 1956 showed a long list of people on Hungarian Television the other day, people who should be denounced. The National Association of Political Prisoners and other organizations are threatening with this.

[Hollos] Yes, but you do accept the fact that, recently, you have been reacting to these challenges much more emotionally than before?

[Horn] No, I cannot accept this. This is not emotion. If you call it tension, I will accept that. Instead, what is behind all this and what motivates the tension is that this is not the way we imagined all this, the entire transition. I would never have dreamed that such a situation would emerge in Hungary toward the end of 1991. Perhaps I was naive, but this is my mistake, and this is my affair. Tension is motivated by two things. First, I cannot accept the fact that people are hungry and are living in misery, and some kind of helplessness, rather than some kind of sentimentality, makes me say that. Second, no matter how firmly we express our most convincing arguments in the parliamentary committees or in the plenary sessions in connection with the Zetenyi-Takacs proposal, the III/III issue, or any other political issues, all our arguments are ignored by those in power. Tell me, does all this cause bitterness and tension in every person of goodwill?

Smallholders Reveal Composition of New Faction

LD2211131691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The renewed parliamentary faction of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] is expected to have 12 members. Emese Ugrin will be its leader.

National Assembly Speaker Gyorgy Szabad received a letter in which the 12 signatories state that they are members of the FKgP faction. Smallholders' General Secretary Bela Nemeth said that the Smallholders' leadership only considers legitimate the group of parliamentary deputies led by Emese Ugrin. In the future, any faction that consists of deputies who have been excluded from the party has no right to represent the FKgP. The general secretary also stated that the group of deputies led by Emese Ugrin has the right to all the posts filled by Smallholders' deputies. According to the six-party agreement, the FKgP is represented by three members in every permanent parliamentary committee and by two members in the special committees.

The letter addressed to Gyorgy Szabad was signed by Gyorgy Balogh, Vilmos Bereczki, Miklos Borz, Jenoe Gerbovics, Sandor Gyoerivanyi, Jozsef Istvan, Geza Ivan, Sandor Kavassy, Mrs. Jozsef Lakatos, Emese Ugrin, Jozsef Torgyan, and Jozsef Faddi.

The leadership of the FKgP faction will meet on the morning of 22 November. Its stand on developments is expected to be born at the 23 November morning parliamentary group session.

Smallholders' Cseh Views Congress, Coalition

AU1911180691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Nov 91 p 4

[Interview with Sandor Cseh, deputy chairman of the Smallholders Party, by Gabor Rejto; place and date not given: "I Would Give 14 Days of Grace"]

[Text] [Rejto] In your opinion, what was the goal of this congress?

[Cseh] I must say that I would have preferred a different type of congress, one in which our party could increase its international prestige. We started talking about it in this spirit.

[Rejto] Can you agree with [Smallholders' chairman] Jozsef Torgyan's methods within the party?

[Cseh] I can work with him.

[Rejto] How do you explain the fact that most people in the party faction did not sign the "declaration of allegiance" and only 10 out of 37 of the deputies invited actually participated in this congress?

[Cseh] There are several explanations for this. People who are touched by the winds of power, the comfort of a Mercedes car, and the smells of Rozsadomb [residential area in Budapest] are not ready to take risks. However, I would also cite caution here, in addition to human frailty. Among those who failed to come to the congress there are people who have not yet succeeded in pinpointing the winning side. Others refuse to accept the current trend, namely that we will not stay in the coalition under all circumstances. I participated in the talks from the first coalition negotiations (from 17 April 1990) to the end. I often became bitter. I have a copy of a document, and I signed the original together with [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall: The document is about the restoration of ownership prevailing in 1947. We added the land bills of the two parties to this. In this document, we declared that the two positions are so close to each other that there are no obstacles hindering a common position. Nor are there any obstacles hindering a coalition between the two parties. Unfortunately, everything turned out differently.

[Rejto] Why?

[Cseh] Partly because of the qualities of [Smallholders official] Jozsef Ferenc Nagy, although he is a very conscientious and well-meaning person, and partly because of our prime minister's approach.

[Rejto] What was the prime minister's approach to all this?

[Cseh] The government and Jozsef Antall obviously realized immediately that they could deal with the weak Jozsef Ferenc Nagy the way they wanted, and so they filled the Ministry of Agriculture with people from the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. In his many tasks, Jozsef Antall did not have enough time to deal with agricultural problems. Jozsef Antall received too many portfolios, and this led to the fact that he lost control over some areas.

[Rejto] Some speakers at the congress compared the MDF to the Hungarian communist party and claimed that the MDF wanted to annihilate the other parties, just like the communists did.

[Cseh] I do not agree with this. This was probably said by bitter people.

[Rejto] Are you not bitter?

[Cseh] Of course I am, when I see that, after one and a half years of coalition activity, we continue to be blamed for the economic problems and the social tensions, as if we had the opportunity to carry out real government activity in this sphere. Naturally, the problems would not be so big if the Smallholders in the government fulfilled their tasks. We must declare that we should get the government authority we deserve in the coalition. Today, we can provide adequate people for these tasks.

[Rejto] Would you have joined the coalition in 1990 knowing what you know today.

[Cseh] I can firmly say no!

[Rejto] Will you make use of the right provided by this congress—I doubt it was legal—to leave?

[Cseh] I would appreciate it if the prime minister made it possible for us to continue the coalition talks. Mr. Antall thinks that the Smallholders Party might become divided and thus he would like to hold negotiations with the wing that is more loyal to him.

[Rejto] There is logic in this.

[Cseh] Yes, I would do the same. However, the party, and not its representatives, joined the coalition. There were no representatives at all when the issue of a possible coalition emerged.

[Rejto] One can easily imagine a situation in which the 17 people who signed the aforementioned declaration will simply be ousted from power.

[Cseh] I think that those who have not yet decided or have come to the wrong decision will change their minds and will not leave the party, and I would give 14 days of grace for this. I am confident that the prime minister is also aware of the result of governing in coalition with the Smallholders, who are now in a majority in the faction. This policy can be, and is, criticized from every side. Let us create a functioning coalition government at long last!

[Rejto] How is it possible that, among the three coalition parties, only the Smallholders Party is struggling with such spectacular difficulties?

[Cseh] My explanation is that, in a period between two elections, the parties simply relax everywhere in the world, and this also applies to the Hungarian parties,

except for our party. We lived through a very active political period and a 70,000-member party emerged as a result. This membership has demands. They demand the representation of their interests in parliament. However, the deputies are safe, they cannot be recalled, and they think in terms of another regime. The prime minister likes this.

[Rejto] One can understand that Jozsef Antall does not particularly like the possibility of one of his coalition parties changing concepts and subsequently changing its people in the government and parliament.

[Cseh] According to the prime minister, our party is entitled to three ministerial positions and five or six state secretarial positions....

[Rejto] Why do you say this?

[Cseh] Because this is where the problem lies. Someone counted it and it seems to be correct: There are 52 independents in the government today. However, they are only independent of the two coalition partners, and not of the MDF. This is the distortion of proportion that I cannot accept.

[Rejto] You said at the conference that "we will not participate in a destructive policy." Do you have a concrete ultimatum for leaving the coalition?

[Cseh] We have demands connected to negotiations, namely that we should honestly divide government positions and the main administrative positions (Compensation Office, Hungarian National Bank, etc.) among ourselves. If this happens, will accept full responsibility for our part in the deal.

[Rejto] Will you leave the coalition if you do not receive the positions you are demanding?

[Cseh] I can firmly say yes.

[Rejto] I think this will be decided in a short time.

[Cseh] Neither we nor the prime minister can avoid the issue any longer.

Center Accord Leader Views Coalition Issues

AU2111185191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with Andrzej Urbanski, Center Accord organizational secretary, by Artur Domoslawski and Pawel Lawinski; place and date not given: "... the President Might Assume Too Much Responsibility"]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] The Center Accord has been pushing the Jan Olszewski candidacy. Is the main reason the Center Accord does not want the Walesa-Bielecki duo to continue? We have heard from people inside the Center Accord that under Bielecki, "the government will be run by the Belvedere over the telephone."

[Urbanski] It is true that we see a danger in the balance being upset between the Belvedere, the government, and the Parliament. It is not a matter of individuals, however, but involves the general distribution of power between the president, a fragmented parliament, and what might possibly be a weak government. This appraisal of the situation is what has led the Center Accord to be greatly concerned about forming a strong majority coalition.

The immediate cause of the dispute that erupted between Jaroslaw Kaczynski and the president was our demand that the president should convene Parliament as soon as possible. Our assessment, in contrast to that of the president, is that the creation of a stable majority in Parliament is possible.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do the Center Accord's fears about "upsetting the balance" stem from Walesa's political personality?

[Urbanski] The president's role increases as the level of society's involvement in public affairs declines. Today, the structure of the presidency lacks coherence, not because the Kaczynski brothers have left, but because the chancellery does not have a new chief who would provide a clear-cut indication of what the chancellery will be in the near future.

The president has put forward four options for a government and, under three of them, the president himself would be the prime minister. Many political circles have expressed doubts, to put it tactfully, about whether that would be the best solution, especially as the situation is not as grave as the president's spokesman sometimes presents it as being.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, you would wish to curb the power (or at any rate not increase the limited power) of the president and thus diminish his role in the state?

[Urbanski] Definitely not. From the very beginning, we have been saying that we are in favor of a strong presidency, but we are also in favor of a strong Parliament. In this respect, we were even more moderate than some Democratic Union politicians, such as, for example, Aleksander Hall, who has been talking about a French style of presidency.

We fear that the president might assume too much responsibility for the changes that are taking place. We think that it would be better if he were to continue to remain a card that could be played as a last resort, should the reforms be threatened.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, what is the campaign against Bielecki and the one in support of Olszewski about?

[Urbanski] First, there is no "war at the top." Second, all five parties view Bielecki's performance as prime minister positively. Leszek Balcerowicz had an exceptionally special role in the government. Prime Minister Bielecki does not have to be saddled with his mistakes.

We are in favor of Olszewski, however, because he guarantees a breakthrough and can ensure that the government is independent of the Belvedere and Parliament in a typically democratic manner.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] I take that to mean that you do not believe that Bielecki can guarantee that independence.

[Urbanski] That is something that I cannot say. Under the Bielecki government, there was no consistency in creating independent, democratic institutions. For example, the changes in the military could have been instituted more rapidly had authority been distributed more clearly between the defense minister, president, and prime minister. We still do not know whether Minister Kolodziejczyk is more accountable to the prime minister or to the president. The Office for the Protection of the State and the Supreme Chamber of Control function in a similar way.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that the Bielecki government did not have a secure base in Parliament, and that is why it was in a weak position in negotiations with President Walesa.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So what has prompted the recent unofficial suggestions made by "the five" that the Democratic Union should join the government?

[Urbanski] The coalition is ready to consider working with the Democratic Union, above all, although that would apply more to the politicians on the right wing of the party who are grouped around Mazowiecki. It is a question of drawing the Democratic Union into the process of building effective democratic institutions, such as, for example, a different set of relations between the Sejm, the government, and the Belvedere.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The Democratic Union, however, perceives "the five" as a coalition directed against it. What basis do you have for saying now that you do not rule out the Democratic Union, because just a short time

ago you discounted that possibility, and it was because of you that Professor Geremek's mission failed?

[Urbanski] What we are now proposing to the Democratic Union is that it should realize its program for defending the independence of Parliament. If Democratic Union politicians are afraid that by entering the coalition and government they will deprive themselves of the luxury of being the opposition, then there is still another proposal that can be made, that of participating in the creation of a Parliament that is strong, in spite of being so fragmented. This means that in a Sejm that is to build the foundations of an institutional system, the ruling coalition will need the support of other parties, such as the Democratic Union, for example.

Democratic Union politicians will have to learn to be more modest, however, because Polish politics do not revolve around them exclusively not every act on the part of, for example, the five-party coalition, is directed against them.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So why did you not try to come to an agreement with the Democratic Union strigtaway at the Belvedere? You did not try to hold negotiations about a program.

[Urbanski] I would remind you that Jacek Kuron told GAZETA that the calls for de-communization are to blame for everything, that the Democratic Union will not abandon the current economic program, and that it does not want relations between the church and state to be too close.

There was something else, however, that was the immediate reason for the failure to work out an agreement. Perhaps things would have turned out differently if some other politicians had left the Belvedere, together with Kaczynski, who had been defending the interests of Parliament. The rest remained in the belief that the situation did not call for the discussion to be transferred elsewhere.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, it would appear that everyone is against the president.

[Urbanski] I do not think so. I believe that if things had taken a different course, then the president would be using a different game plan now.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] He would be more flexible?

[Urbanski] No. The president accepts facts, and modifies his behavior in accordance with reality. He is a great politician. Sometimes he is too great.

Five-Party Coalition Working on Economic Program

LD2211035191 Warsaw PAP in English 1627 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 21—The economic team of the five-party coalition met in Warsaw Thursday to discuss a common platform for the economic programme for Poland, with all participants pledging the will to reach compromise on controversial issues, such as, for instance, agriculture.

The team, composed of representatives of the Christian National Union (ZChN), the Centre Alliance (PC), the Peasant Agreement (PL), the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) focussed on instruments indispensable to fight recession without bringing back hyperinflation and increasing budget deficit. They also sought ways to improve the situation in agriculture, and on Poland's relations with international financial organizations.

Gabriel Janowski (PL) claims that the government must change its policy vis a vis agriculture, although he appreciated some recent measures, among them those concerning the import tariffs.

"We all share the conviction that Poland must have an economic programme that would help form a government," Henryk Goryszewski of ZChN told a news conference here.

Private Radio, TV Chairman on Broadcast Rights

LD2211090291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] [Announcer] Only five private radio and television stations have permission to transmit programs. Another 10 are operating without permission. The Federation for Supporting Private Radio and TV Stations is acting in their defense. It is demanding that the president, among others, should not sign the law on radio and television. This resolution is justified by the chairman of the Federation, Ireneusz Orzechowski:

[Orzechowski] We are directing an appeal to the president to create possibilities for the minister of communications to grant permission for the provisional operation of stations that are prepared, that are straining at the leash, and that are broadcasting. They are broadcasting on (?the basis of promises), semilegally, illegally [words indistinct]. This is an oddity.

[Unidentified correspondent] But those stations that have begun operating knew that they were operating on their own responsibility. And even if the law on radio and television comes into force, it is not certain whether these stations will get precisely those frequencies.

[Orzechowski] That is true, madam. I would like to stress one thing with full force, that all those who are operating at the moment—those four [as heard] stations, three radio and one television, that are in Poland and are operating—are aware that when the law on radio and television comes into force, it will create possibilities, and everyone will enter the competition. We will not try to get those frequencies on the principle of (?usucaption).

[Correspondent] What are the controversial points of this proposed new law?

[Orzechowski] These are, above all, the charges connected with state television and private television. It means that, at the moment, state television gets subsidies from three sources: the budget, subscriptions, and from advertisements. Commerce is to exist purely and simply from advertisements. It cannot get money from the budget, because it is commerce, it is private entrepreneurs; nor can it get money from subscriptions, because the law does not anticipate this.

[Correspondent] And it follows that it is a question of one source of finance.

[Orzechowski] One source of finance. If this, then not that. If that, then not this.

[Announcer] Yet Deputy Minister of Communications Marek Rusin said that those who have permission to operate could broadcast radio and television programs. However, those who do not have it cannot. He also said that we could not, at this moment, allow a slide into anarchy, and all those operating illegally will be ordered to stop doing so.

Silesians Association Leader on Border Issue

PM2211112691 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 13 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Dr. Herbert Hupka, chairman of the Silesians Association (Landsmannschaft Schlesien) and deputy chairman of the League of Expelled Germans (Bund der Vertriebenen, BdV) by correspondent Roman Jaworek; place and date not given]

[Text] [Jaworek] Mr. Hupka, now that the Polish-German treaties have been ratified, is it your native land [Heimat] or your country [Vaterland] that you are visiting here today?

[Hupka] Silesia has always been my native land, and for more than 700 years it was a part of Germany, so I believe that I have now arrived in my native land. This is because, in my opinion, the Polish-German treaties acknowledge the border on the Rivers Oder and Nysa but, nevertheless, they still do not recognize it.

[Jaworek] So the BdV does not accept the treaties that have been ratified by the parliaments of both concerned countries, does it?

[Hupka] Naturally enough, the treaties have already been put into force; however, as citizens of a free country, we are entitled even now to give our opinion on their value.

[Jaworek] What, then, are the League of Expelled Germans' objections to the treaties?

[Hupka] As chairman of the Silesians Association and deputy chairman of the League of Expelled Germans, I will remind you that the border that is the subject of the treaties was established as a result of pacts with Stalin, and that even Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski pointed out that we did not take part in the negotiations at the time. The consequence of the border agreements was that the indigenous population of the territories concerned were expelled. This is why the border can never be considered legally binding. Because of the expatriation campaign, our people's right to their native land (or 'little homeland,' as some translators render the word) was violated. Furthermore, the recent Polish-German treaties were negotiated in a series of talks between our respective governments, and we never had the chance to discuss their content, which constitutes, after all, the essence of any agreement on the subject between our nations. I published an article in SCHLESISCHE NACHRICHTUNG, the Silesians Association's paper, in which I wrote: "Our action is that of democrats and patriots. It is out of the question that the communist and nationalist lawlessness should prevail, because all final settlements of the matter in question must be just and fair. We are not asking for any violent changes of the existing arrangements and situations. These things must be settled peacefully, but there must be justice in the settlement."

[Jaworek] What would such a just settlement entail?

[Hupka] The expatriation of our people should be officially recognized for what it was—that is, a crime. To give you an example, the Baltic states have already judged Stalin's lawless actions correctly. Why, then, should we Germans willingly relinquish our rights?

[Jaworek] Mr. Hupka, if you continue to voice these views despite all the changes around us, you will again become a menacing figure for large numbers of Poles.

[Hupka] Why should Poles be afraid of a neighbor who calls law and lawlessness by their proper names and who insists that nothing should be changed by the use of force? Do you know, as I was walking in the Mount Snieznik region last summer, I met a 30-year-old man who was a lecturer at the University of Wroclaw. He could not speak German, and I could not speak Polish, so we held our conversation in English; and during it he told me that he was afraid of the Germans and of what they would do here in the future. To which I replied by describing to him our vision of joint management of these territories and joint restoration of Silesia to prosperity. This, because you should always have a firm vision of your plans for the future in politics.

[Jaworek] But this is precisely what Poles are most afraid of: that wealthy Germany will buy out poor Poland—lock, stock, and barrel.

[Hupka] Identical fears were voiced in East Germany, immediately after German unification. There, too, there was talk about the wealthy "Westerners" and the poor "Easterners." But you know yourself that it is by no means a foregone conclusion that Germany will always remain so powerful, while even Poland's Prime Minister Bielecki himself concluded that, for Poland, the road to Europe leads through Germany.

[Jaworek] But these days, Poles are being brutally attacked on the very same German territory.

[Hupka] These attacks are carried out by extremists, and you cannot really say that all Germans are extremists, whether right- or left-oriented. In any case, we disapprove of such incidents and try to prevent them. In my opinion, it is exceptional for a German to hit a Pole, and I trust that these incidents will not be repeated.

[Jaworek] In one of your interviews you said that all Germans who stayed behind in Poland are under an obligation to remain fully loyal to Poland and the Polish people. Would you explain to us how you understand this obligation to loyalty?

[Hupka] In the same way as I would expect it of Poles living in Lithuania, who must respect the law and the regulations issued by the Lithuanian state authorities. The same applies to Germans living in Poland: They must be loyal to the Polish state and obey the authorities; however, this certainly does not mean that they should give up their rights as an ethnic minority. I would be happy to see Germans in Poland enjoying the same rights as the Polish minority already enjoys in Lithuania.

[Jaworek] But you do know that they have already been given these rights. The German minority has six Sejm deputies and one senator to represent them in the new parliament.

[Hupka] All the same, it is still true that, whereas there are many schools for the Lithuanian and Ukrainian minorities in Poland, there is not even a single German school. As you can see, there is still much do be done in all areas, beginning with education, to ensure that the German minority can enjoy the rights to which it is entitled.

[Jaworek] But it does not have to depend on the state whether or not schools for the minorities are set up. Each minority can found them itself.

[Hupka] No, it cannot, because there is no internal government instruction granting ethnic minorities the right to fund their own schools, kindergartens, and so on. Nevertheless, I hope that our minority will eventually win this right, since this is only the beginning of the road to full agreement between Poles and Germans.

[Jaworek] Do you believe that it is possible for Poles and Germans to achieve a mutual understanding at the basic, individual, person-to-person level?

[Hupka] I believe it is, if only because many Poles have been asking me this very question—even though they know that I am the same Hupka with whom they were threatened when they were children. In my opinion, the first important step in this direction was made precisely here, in Wroclaw, and one of the first beneficiaries was the late Cardinal Bertram, whose ashes were returned to his native land after very many years to be buried in Wroclaw Cathedral. Moreover, it was on this occasion that Cardinal Meissner, who himself was born in Wroclaw, was able to deliver a homily in the German language—for the first time in 45 years—in the Church of the Holy Cross and Wroclaw Cathedral. I believe that this was a momentous step toward reconciliation between the two nations and also toward a better future.

Impact of 'Greater Vilnius' Project Examined

PM1811094091 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 8 Nov 91 p 3

[Zbigniew Rozanski article: "Poles Will Not Regain Their Land"]

[Text] Despite reservations voiced by Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by the actual inhabitants of Gedyminas's city, the "Greater Wilno" [Vilnius] project is taking increasingly realistic shape as time progresses. This constitutes a serious threat for its inhabitants, because the project stipulates that all land within the Greater Wilno boundaries be exempt from privatization—which, in this particular case, is tantamount to every land owner within the area becoming dispossessed.

A statement that we obtained from Jaroslaw Wolkowski, a former Wilno district councillor who visited Warsaw a few days ago, highlights the significance of the development. Wolkowski asserts that, step by step, Lithuanian authorities are now moving in that direction. Recently, for example, special commissions were appointed to identify all the conceivable mistakes made in the work of parish authorities in the 11 parishes immediately adjacent to the Vilnius district and to dismiss the heads of these authorities on the basis of their findings.

"It was according to precisely such a scenario that a meeting was held at the Bujwidziszki [Buivydiskes] parish, where I live," Jaroslaw Wolkowski told us. "Sixty percent of the parish population are Poles, 30 percent Lithuanians, and the rest is made up by other national minorities. The elected head of the parish council was a Pole. The government commission did not take part in the meeting of the parish authorities. It only examined a report of the audit carried out in the parish and subsequently ordered that the parish head be dismissed. The result of the parish ballot on the matter was highly significant. Of the 25 delegates present at the meeting, 24 expressed their support for the parish leader and gave him their vote of confidence. In this way, the plans of the special commission were thwarted."

The scheme to replace present parish council leaders by government-approved candidates is devised to facilitate the realization of the "Greater Wilno" project, with which the Wilno District Council approached the Lithuanian parliament. The project envisages an expansion of the city's administrative boundaries by incorporating the following neighboring parishes: Awizeny [Avizonys], Bezdany [Bezdonys], Bujwidziszki, Grygiszki [Grigiskes], Czarny Bor [Juodsiliai], Mickuny [Mickunai], Niemierz [Nemezis], Rzesza [Riese], Waka-Troki

[Traku Voke], Suderve [Suderwa], Rudomino [Rudamina], Wojdaty [Vaidotai], the city of Niemenczyn [Nemencine], a part of the Troki [Trakai] district, parts of the Stare Troki [Senieji Trakai] and [unidentified name, possibly Karaciszki] parishes, and the city of Landwarow [Lentvaris]. The consequences of this "administrative operation" are easy to predict.

The "Greater Wilno" project is, in effect, a scheme whereby two-thirds of the Wilno district—inhabited mostly by Poles—is to be incorporated into the capital's present territory. The remaining area of the district surrounding the city, in the shape of a ring, will be divided between other districts. In this way, the Wilno region will disappear from the administrative map, and the Polish population will formally constitute a minority wherever they live. As a result, in all future elections Poles will be unable to vote in their own representatives in their districts. Nor will they be able to reclaim their own land that was taken from them in the period of collectivization, because the new privatization act does not apply to municipal areas.

As if to eradicate the memory of old territorial divisions, the names of districts and even individual streets are also to be changed: In the future, they are to be given only in the Lithuanian language, whereas previously the principle of giving names in both languages was practiced. For example, the instruction has already been issued to remove all road signs with Polish place names from all main thoroughfares by May 1992 at the latest. The Polish road sign directing travelers to the village of Soleczniki has already disappeared, and a new sign bearing the Lithuanian name, "Salcininkai," has been erected in its place.

Another example: The Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic recently passed an act regulating the principles according to which the first names and surnames of non-Lithuanian nationals are to be spelled. The act provides for spelling people's names and surnames in a way consistent with their pronunciation, that is, without the Lithuanian endings "-as" or "-is," as long as the person concerned states his or her preference for this option in writing. However, reality is more complex than the provisions of the act. Many official institutions insist on issuing documents with the names of persons concerned spelled with Lithuanian name endings, and they refuse to change this practice despite repeated protests. Those who still insist on having their names spelled the Polish way are advised to consult a lawyer. They are also frequently told that they will encounter difficulties in banks, municipal and state offices, and all kinds of financial and other institutions if they spell their first names and surnames the Polish way.

Parliament Adopts Draft Constitution 21 November

AU2111085791

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0714 GMT on 21 November begins a live relay from the Romanian Parliament on the Constituent Assembly session, during which the draft constitution will be submitted to a vote.

Announcer Dionisie Sincan says that Deputies' Assembly President Dan Martian will chair today's session. Martian is heard asking the audience to take their seats, and he opens the session.

Senator Antonie Iorgovan, president of the Committee in Charge of Drafting Romania's Constitution, discusses certain administrative issues and enumerates grammatical or linguistic mistakes that occurred in the draft constitution that must be corrected. The Constituent Assembly approves all of Senator Iorgovan's proposals with one abstention. Martian enumerates the mistakes that have been already taken care of and takes the vote of those present on modifications.

Next, Martian speaks about the parliamentarians "great responsibility" toward the country and the nation in adopting Romania's constitution. He recalls the regulations on endorsing the constitution agreed upon during the very first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. One is that the votes of "two-thirds of the total number of parliamentarians" must be in favor of the draft constitution for it to be adopted. Therefore, because there are 510 parliamentarians in the two parliamentary chambers, a favorable vote by 340 parliamentarians' is necessary for the adoption of the constitution.

He explains the voting procedures and says that "after the voting" the committee of the Constituent Assembly will draft "the minutes on the result of the votes" and "after a lunch break, we will meet at 1700 in a session of a solemn nature, to which the Romanian Government members and representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest will be invited." He says that the result of the voting will be read on that occasion and that the leaders of the parliamentary groups will express their opinions in connection with the votes. He says that, in the last part of the afternoon session, the parliamentarians will discuss "the draft law on the referendum regarding the draft constitution."

The parliamentarians then vote, according to the order of the electoral constituencies they represent. Parliamentarians from the National Salvation Front [FSN] and FSN-allied groupings are heard voting in favor of the constitution. Of the opposition parties, several National Liberal Party [PNL] deputies are also heard voting in favor of the constitution, while other PNL parliamentarians, along with parliamentarians from the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] and the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], are heard voting against it. At times, when a negative vote is being announced, particularly when coming from a UDMR deputy or senator, there is some commotion in the hall, with occasional booing. Absent deputies and senators have sent their votes in sealed envelopes, which have been opened before the session.

The voting pattern remains the same: Parliamentarians from the National Salvation Front [FSN], the Ecologist Party of Romania [PER], the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the Socialist Democratic Party and other pro-FSN groupings vote in favor of the constitution, while those representing the opposition UDMR and the PNT-cd vote against. Prominent UDMR figure, Senator Karoly Kiraly, was absent from the voting and did not send a sealed envelope either. As for the PNL, the votes are split—some are for, some against, with PNL President Radu Campeanu voting against. Dinu Patriciu, leader of the Liberal Party (former National Liberal Party-Young Wing) is also heard voting against the constitution.

At 1000 GMT, Deputies' Assembly Speaker Dan Martian announces that the required "two-thirds majority in favor of the constitution has been reached, with the favorable votes of 340 deputies and senators." He then remarks on the "beautiful coincidence" that the 340th vote in favor of the consittution was given by a "deputy from Timisoara constituency." After applause and ovations, the voting continues until 1027 GMT, when Dan Martian announces the end of the ballot and that the plenary session will be resumed at 1500 GMT.

Voting Results Reported

AU2111161891 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1508 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Deputy Bogdan Patrascu]

[Text] Report on the results of the vote cast by deputies and senators on Romania's draft constitution, drafted today, 21 November 1991: The Constituent Assembly Committee verified and counted the votes cast by the deputies and senators—in accordance with their nominal order—on Romania's draft constitution and noted the following:

1. Of the total number of 510 deputies and senators who make up the Constituent Assembly, 476 parliamentarians reported present, of which: 371 are deputies and 105 senators. Twenty deputies and 13 senators cast their nominal vote in sealed envelopes, in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the Constituent Assembly Decision No. 3 of 13 November 1991 regarding certain measures on the adoption of Romania's constitution.

Senator Karoly Kiraly did not report present nor did he cast his vote in a sealed envelope, thus falling under the dispositions of Article No. 2 of Constituent Assembly Decision No. 3 of 13 November 1991 regarding certain measures on the adoption of Romania's Constitution.

2. The counting of the votes reveals that 414 members of the Constituent Assembly voted for the adoption of the constitution, while 95 members of the Constituent Assembly voted against the adoption of the constitution.

3. The 414 deputies and senators who voted for the adoption of the constitution make up more than two-thirds of the total number of members of the Constituent Assembly.

As a result, the Constituent Assembly Committee notes that the requirements of Article 12 of Constituent Assembly Decision No. 1 of 1990 are met, and thus declares Romania's constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in its meeting of 21 November 1991. [applause]

On behalf of the Constituent Assembly Committee, the report has been signed by Messrs. Dan Martian, Marian Enache, Ionel Roman, Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, Victor Cevdarie, Neculae Radu, Cazimir Ionescu, Bogdan Patrascu, and Lazar (?Masaros), on behalf of the Permanent Bureau of the Deputies' Assembly.

On behalf of the Senate Permanent Bureau, the report has been signed by Messrs. Alexandru Barladeanu, Radu Campeanu, Oliviu Gherman, Vasile Mois, Iosif Dan, Paul Jerbas, Petre Jurcan, and Attila Verestoi.

Opposition Leaders Address Parliament

AU2111204191

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1508 GMT on 21 November begins a live relay from the Romanian Parliament on the second part of the Constituent Assembly session in connection with the "final results" of this morning's voting on Romania's draft constitution. The relay lasts 2 hours and 7 minutes.

At 1552 GMT, Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party, takes the floor and says that "undoubtedly, this constitution includes positive things. They have been enumerated here." "There are also things," however, that met with "our reservations." He continues by saying that this constitution "does not specify" one of the "modern principles," namely the "principle of the separation of powers." He stresses that: "If the principle of the separation of powers had been properly specified, then one would have known that the executive act is one thing and the legislative act is another." He emphasizes that: "This vote represents a legislative act, and it is the right of the members of the Constituent Assembly to have their say." He continues to emphasize that: "The first shortcoming, in my and our view, is the absence of the principle of the separation of powers. The second shortcoming is the exaggeration of presidential rights." In this context, he stresses: "It is not right for the president to send messages that may influence the will of the Parliament." "The third" thing is the fact "that a constitutional court has been created. It is a pity that we did not return to the former Romanian tradition" in this respect. He also emphasizes that, as in all democratic countries, there should be a "possibility to amend laws," and it should be possible to "modify" the constitution.

In connection with the referendum that the Constitution stipulates, Campeanu says: "This referendum is useless;" "you do not need confirmation from anyone;" and "you have endorsed the constitution, and that is how it should stay."

At 1609 GMT, Geza Domokos, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, takes the floor and says that the "fundamental law presents, we hope, an irrevocable breach with the communist totalitarian past." He continues by saying that the "laborious process" of formulating the constitution was sometimes "influenced by the current social and political climate in our country." He says that the "tension in the political arena often exerted a negative influence" on "the activity of the Constituent Assembly." He objects to the fact that the "principle of the separation of powers" has not been "specified clearly," to the tendency "to limit local autonomy in favor of central state authority," to "inconsistencies in establishing the legal framework in which justice will function," and to the "difficult procedure" of "revising the constitution."

Referring to ethnic issues, Domokos says that the "initial generous intentions, their logic, and the balance promoted were turned upside down." He says: "Under the pressure of certain extremist tendencies, these provisions" were "eliminated." He continues by saying that the "refusal to adopt certain provisions that stop—at this time and in the future—any intentions to limit the free use of the mother tongue, an essential condition for preserving one's ethnic identity," is part of such tendencies. He stresses that "starting from these considerations, the members of our parliamentary group" did "not endorse the constitution." He emphasizes: "We want to declare in front of the Constituent Assembly and the whole country" that, "consistent with our civic principles," we "will respect" the "fundamental law."

At 1621 GMT, Ion Ratiu, vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], takes the floor and speaks about the constitution being an act that should "unite the country," that "it should be acceptable to and accepted by the vast majority of the country's population."

He says: "The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party desires and actively supports the nation's unity. Therefore, we have asked that the form of government of the Romanian state be decided by the nation on the basis of a referendum, clearly and simply: constitutional monarchy of a republic." He stresses that, "only in this way, can this problem be solved once and for all" in "a correct and democratic way." He continues by saying: "The constitution that has been adopted today has been imposed on those who desire the reestablishment of a constitutional monarchy."

He continues by saying that the PNT-cd is "a democratic party." "We are waiting" for "the verdict of the nation: If the nation opts for a republic, we will accept a republic." He then says: "The constitution endorsed today guarantees the president too much power," and the "government itself has too much power as well." He also contends that the "separation of powers is not explicitly specified." He concludes by saying "these are the main reasons why the PNT-cd is against this constitution."

FSN Leader Praises Constitution

AU2111183791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/11/1991—Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly session continued in the afternoon with various deputies taking the floor.

In accordance with the mandate we have been entrusted with by the Romanian people through the May 20, 1990 general elections, Marian Enache, leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentary group in the Assembly of Deputies, said, we have carried out today the fundamental act of adopting Romania's constitution owing to those political parties and formations which have understood the necessity of giving the country a democratic constitution.

The deputy emphasised inter alia that the representatives of all minorities, excepting the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, by voting for the constitution in a difficult moment, proved their wish to live in democracy. Through the new constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly as "a fundamental legislative demarche" of the country, "Romania definitively broke its ties with communist structures," because the constitution "admits neither the existence of only one party nor the dictatorship."

Showing that the starting points of the Romanian state of law sanctioned by the new constitution are in the declaration to country on the hot day of the revolution—December 22, 1989—Mr. Marian Enache underscored that a distinctive feature of the new constitution is that that it organically integrated modern institutions of democracy such as the constitutional court.

Owing to the new constitution, the speaker said, "Romania became a new and genuine state of law in the concert of world democratic states."

Referendum on Constitution To Be Held 8 December

AU2211112791 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Constituent Assembly held a session today at the Parliament's Great Hall and adopted, by majority of votes, the draft bill on organizing and conducting a national referendum on Romania's constitution. According to the first article of the law, Romania's citizens are called on 8 December to participate in a referendum on Romania's constitution, which was adopted yesterday by the Constituent Assembly. In view of the political significance of this referendum for the country's constitutional framework, the bill stipulates that the proclamation of the referendum results should be made in a joint session of the two chambers of the Parliament, with the participation of Romania's president, government, and the president of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Stolojan Announces 'Late January' Local Elections

AU2111130191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1156 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/11/1991—During a news conference on Thursday [21 November] morning Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan reviewed the original goals and the achievements of the government since it has been exercising its mandate and referred to the targets of the next period of roughly three or four months.

The prime minister announced that local elections would be held either late January or early February next year to be followed in two or three months' time by general elections, therefore late in March or early in April 1992. Mentioning that the election campaign would take four months or so Theodor Stolojan urged political forces to carry on their campaign in a manner that would not affect the country's situation and the government's task to secure free and fair elections in Romania.

Referring to the priorities of the government in the current period, the premier said that the country's energy situation had been put under control and that operations in agriculture had improved.

Reasserting the government's pledge to firmly promote the reform, the prime minister said the structural reforms under way should be carried into effect as the key to the recovery of the Romanian economy and its setting on the basis of the market principles.

At the end of the news conference Mr. Stolojan said he would not run in the future elections and would not adhere to any party. At the same time, he said he had no intention to resign and that the government would responsibly exercise its mandate and work to attain the targets it envisages.

Government Issues Declaration on Ethnic Minorities

AU2111214491 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] We will now present a declaration issued by the Romanian Government in connection with ethnic minorities:

The downfall of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe permitted minority groups' numerous dissatisfactions—which had accumulated during decades of dictatorship—to surface and to be discussed in public, both in their respective countries and at international meetings organized under the aegis of the CSCE, the Council of Europe, and other international organizations. Such a meeting on democratic institutions and human rights has just ended in Oslo.

The Romanian Government is aware of the importance of the problems regarding ethnic minorities, the emotional side of discussions on such issues, and is aware of the hopes that Romanian citizens of different ethnic origins have in the democratization process of Romanian society.

It goes without saying that the difficulties of an economic and social nature faced during this transition period affect Romanian citizens to an equal extent, irrespective of their ethnic origin.

Bearing in mind the experience of countries with democratic traditions, the communique continues, the government trusts that the transition process toward democracy and a market economy in Romania—as well as in the other Central and Eastern European countries—will also create conditions for correctly solving the problems of interest to ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities.

In extensively outlining the measures to protect ethnic minorities, the communique mentions that the Romanian Government wants to make sure that the application of the inalienable, recognized, and guaranteed rights for people belonging to ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities will not lead to the separation or isolation of minorities from the rest of the population. On the contrary, all these rights must offer these people opportunities equal to those of other citizens, guarantee them equality before the law and, in general, permit them to become part and parcel of our society.

For this purpose, all necessary conditions to ensure social harmony and concord between the various segments of the population will be created—indispensable values for the survival and prosperity of any developed, free, and democratic society.

The Romanian Government will continue to act so that these firm options will be reflected in the laws and regulations that are being applied throughout the country and will make sure that they constitute a reality under conditions of democracy, full observance of human rights and freedoms, and the achievement of a state of law.

Stolojan Discusses Mandate, Economic Issues

AU2011122991 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan by Doru Lionachescu; place and date not given: "At Last the Prime Minister Is Talking to TINERETUL LIBER—'I Did Not Propose To Solve All the Problems of the National Economy'"]

[Lionachescu] Mr. Prime Minister, I will start this interview with a very direct question: Do you believe that you can stand it to the end of this mandate?

[Stolojan] I have said it clearly, and I affirm it again, that I regard the fact that I have become prime minister as an accident. The best thing for this country would be to have a prime minister who is a political person, certainly surrounded by worthy ministers and advisers who could help him take correct decisions in all areas, not only regarding the economy. You ask me whether I can stand it to the end, and I assume you are referring to the pressure from the people in the streets. If I were to give you a dry answer, namely that one should not make populist concessions, it would mean that I am reasoning in a simplified manner. The advance of the economic reform requires—as I mentioned in my report to Parliament—that a certain stability has to be maintained, and stability means strictness and not giving in to populist temptations. However, it depends on what we mean by populist temptations. The population in every country always expects the government to ease the restrictions imposed by reform, restrictions that, in fact, enable us to hold back the galloping price increases and inflation.

We have not been confronted with a 1,000-percent increase of prices in six months, as the Poles were. Nevertheless, with all its drawbacks, the reform has developed, it exists, and I am convinced and I have the feeling that prices are still under control. On the other hand, comparison with the other Eastern European countries shows that real wages have fallen in our country less than in other countries, and this is data that cannot be contested. Thus, I state the following: While it is easy to pose as an antipopulist, the problem is always to find, or at least to look for, a balance between people's demands and the restrictions brought about by the economic reform, a balance that allows you to move forward. Because ignoring certain demands of the population might have the same negative effect as populism, it could bring about chaos, as almost happened in September. And, in that case, what is the use of restrictions carried to extremes?

For me, the balance I was talking about and that is essential for the progress of the reform always means a compromise on both sides. Nevertheless, one should find that balance at a level that does not endanger the final goals. I do not claim that I have found this balance, but I do say that I have done all I can to reach it. I told the trade unions as well: I am ready for any compromise that does not prejudice the advance of the reform, and when my hand is forced to compromise in a way that slows down or halts the reform, I will step down myself, and the trade unions can choose whom they want for the office of prime minister.

[Lionachescu] Had you not been an economist, but let us say an engineer, would you have accepted the position of prime minister?

[Stolojan] I do not think that there is much connection between my profession and the fact that I happened to become prime minister. Any public figure could have been given this function. Thus, I do not see why a non-economist could not have accepted this appointment. However, the fact that I am an economist helped me enormously, especially in making quick decisions on the issue that is certainly regarded as the major problem of this period, namely the economy. Within the government, I adopted a decision-making strategy that takes into account the experience of the former cabinet, in which any decision involved countless discussions until compromise was reached. Being an economist, I understand much more quickly than a prime minister who is an engineer or a writer what the current requirements are and what the maximum compromise is that can be accepted. My tactics in the government are to ensure a certain sequence of decisions, because decisions cannot be taken haphazardly according to the order in which they come to mind. There is also a sort of scenario here. You should not believe that this is easy; no, this is a very tiring job.

[Lionachescu] The best barometer of international recognition of an expert is when he is approached with an offer to work for prestigious firms abroad. What were you offered before you became prime minister?

[Stolojan] I received three job offers, two from international financial institutions and one at a foreign consular representation that wanted to open an office in Romania. I opted for one of the international financial institutions.

[Lionachescu] Could you tell us which one?

[Stolojan] No, because the offer was made on a personal level, not on the basis of the functions I held or hold, as one newspaper speculated. What was published in that newspaper shows again the ignorance of some people who believe that, in a world based on values and on genuine relations of a market economy, you are appreciated according to a certain position that you used to hold or you are holding. I can tell you the reality, because to be accepted by the international institution I have referred to, I was submitted to the so- called "method of interviews" for a whole day, with five experts who had never seen me before. Only after the interviews concluded and after all these great experts expressed their agreement was I asked for my references. What I want to illustrate by this example is that transition does not mean exclusively economic changes, but maybe mostly changes of mentality, and this can last for several years.

[Lionachescu] Mr. Prime Minister, what is your major goal in the current period, if you have one?

[Stolojan] During this period in which production continues to drop dramatically, my major goal is to obtain stability and, first of all, to keep inflation under control. I can make concessions, as I did during the dialogue with the miners, but I can only make concessions that would not throw us off the path of our declared goal. Certainly, life and people's behavior are unpredictable, and they might force me to make certain unacceptable concessions. In that case, there will no place for me here. This does not mean that I am not a responsible person and that I do not assume responsibility for the requirements of the position, but I do not wish to carry it on to the detriment of attaining the final goal, namely, the advance of the reform, based on at least acceptable social stability.

[Lionachescu] Does the unification of the exchange rate mark, or does it not mark, a change in the attitude of recognizing the role of the state in carrying out the reform?

[Stolojan] It would be ideal if in a market economy—the one that we also want to establish—all measures could be taken through levers and mechanisms that are specific to the market economy. Thus, the state should intervene only at the level of fiscal policy, taxes, and interest rates to stimulate one sector or another. If I were to act like that, everybody would cheer me. Unfortunately, life is far from ideal. What can I do when I am told that, in agriculture, sowing has been completed on only 35 percent of the planned areas? Can I think of levers of the market economy? No. Quick action is needed here, something that cannot be done through the mechanism of the market economy. In this case, the state, that is, the executive power has to take measures; otherwise, we are going to eat economic principles next fall. I can give you another example: When I am faced with the fact that production lines or entire enterprises are halting production because of lack of energy, what can I do? Should I let the market economy work it out? These are problems that I face every day, every hour. This does not mean that I am departing from the principles of the market economy, but sometimes there are situations when the state cannot watch passively.

[Lionachescu] Mr. Prime Minister, accepting the role that the executive power has to play in the progress of the reform, you must also admit the need for certain checkpoints along the way. Have you thought about such landmarks, and what will you do when, let us say, one of these points is not achieved?

[Stolojan] We will follow the way in which the reform is developing on the basis of two synthetic indicators: one will be the stability of the exchange rate of the national currency that, as a matter of fact, means economic stability. Therefore, the National Bank has a very sensitive mission—to supervise hard currency resources for imports throughout the country and to ensure equal access of all economic units to hard currency, on the basis of competition. The administration of hard currency resources cannot be achieved only through the exchange rate; the National Bank must involve itself very thoroughly in this action because the unification of

the exchange rate is not an action that we can leave to develop at random. The second control indicator will certainly be inflation, an increase in which a signal for us will be that there is a danger of drop in the purchasing power of our currency. Taking into account our own resources or the resources that we could mobilize, we are determined to ensure the stability of the leu's exchange rate by at least April 1992. Thus, we have a checkpoint and very clear terms. Another self-control indicator is the situation of national energy stocks, a subject on which I have taken measures; namely, I have ordered that the government will examine this problem every week, although some people accused me of interfering too much in the life of enterprises. But nothing will save us if we do not start the material and physical restructuring of this economy at once, no matter how many control indicators we have.

[Lionachescu] Do you believe that you will be able to ensure the appropriate framework for free and correct elections?

[Stolojan] I have said several times that the major political goal of the government that I am leading is to organize elections, which, I am sure, will lessen the tension in our society. In the spirit of this objective, I requested the support of all responsible political forces of our country, and I tried to explain to them that this is no time to try and obtain electoral capital through hazardous actions, such as calls to strike. I am determined not to allow the process of the election campaign to increase tension in our society and add more difficulties to the existing great difficulties that are confronting the population. As far as I can help, I am strongly determined to ensure the correctness and free character of the elections, but to achieve this, I need a situation that is as calm as possible. Thus, I have to ensure the minimum means of subsistence. How can we talk about the free vote of a hungry person. He will vote for those who promise him food. Therefore, I have not proposed to solve all the economic problems and all the country's problems, but I want to properly conclude the work that I started.

[Lionachescu] Mr. Prime Minister, what is happening with the ownership title deeds? Why are the peasants not getting them?

[Stolojan] You will be disappointed by the banal nature of my answer. Because of our national economy's inability to print them. That is it.

Roman Explains Differences With Iliescu

AU1911122791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/11/1991—Recent stands, press statements give evidence to the existence of differences of views between former Prime Minister Petre Roman and President Ion Iliescu. Daily AZI of November 19 frontpages Petre Roman's reply to President Ion Iliescu's statement at the news conference on November 15 when, among other things, the president disapproved of the idea of appointment of a FSN [National Salvation Front] national leader, assessing it as "non-democratic solution."

Petre Roman recalls that his election as national leader of the National Salvation Front was made at the National Convention last March, concomitant with the endorsement of the program "A Future for Romania" previously submitted for debate to the FSN county, zonal and Bucharest city conventions, as well as to the National Convention, when the democratic principle was introduced of voting a program the implementation of which should be headed by the party's leader. That program, endorsed by secret ballot by the convention, Petre Roman stresses in his reply, designates as national leader the person that presents and assumes the task of applying the program. Remembering President Iliescu the fact that he knew how the elections at the national convention proceeded, Mr. Roman is surprised to hear that President Iliescu makes only after eight months an assessment which is "as unjust as it is groundless."

Trying to find explanations for President Iliescu's attitude, Petre Roman says: "One of them would be that Mr. Iliescu does not agree with the way how we proposed the definitive divorce from the old system and the clear transformation of the FSN into a party of democracy with a political line of a nature to identify itself to the end with the reform."

PSDT's Stanescu Interviewed on Party Dissension

AU2111215991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with Mircea Stanescu, general secretary of the Traditional Social Democratic Party, by Sorin Rosca-Stanescu; place and date not given: "Scandal in Mr. Cornescu's Party"]

[Text] Well-known businessman, Lucian Cornescu, leader of the Traditional Social Democratic Party (PSDT), has no peace and quiet. Yesterday, our editorial office received a press communique signed by Mircea Stanescu, PSDT general secretary. Thus, we were informed that on 15 November an extraordinary meeting was held by the initiative committee—which founded and organized this political formation. Cornescu is accused of grossly violating democratic principles, of demagoguery, of lying, and of using the party for business purposes. The committee does not recognize mergers with other political formations, which were carried out without the endorsement of the Steering Committee. We contacted Mr. Stanescu. "Cornescu tried and succeeded in eliminating all former social democrats from meetings with the press and with various political figures," Mr. Stanescu said.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Does the PSDT have headquarters in Bucharest?

[Stanescu] Yes. At Aron Florian Street No. 1. All activities, however, are directed from the offices of the "Ring Oil" company on Boulevard Magheru, which is owned by Mr. Cornescu.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Is there a dividing line between business and politics?

[Stanescu] It is difficult to answer this question. One thing is clear: The party leaders have been trying to have a meeting for a few minutes with this big businessman.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What can you tell us about the formations with which the PSDT has merged?

[Stanescu] Without consulting with me, the general secretary, or the Steering Committee, Cornescu decided, all by himself, on a merger with the Labor Party, with Circiumaru's party [Socialist Democratic Party], and with Serghei Mesaros' Romanian National Party.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Is the Labor Party a traditional social-democratic party?

[Stanescu] Neither it nor Circiumaru's party are linked to social democracy in any way. They emerged as satellite parties of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. Both in the case of the two parties, and in the case of the party headed by Mesaros, there were financial difficulties that made them merge. Mesaros asked Cornescu to cover debts of 1.5 million lei. Soon after the merger, Circiumaru was employed as economic counselor in Cornescu's company. Even Mesaros receives a monthly payment.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Actually, what is the political color of this party?

[Stanescu] I can tell you what its political color is not. It is not a social-democratic party; hence, the negative comments from the public. Those who joined it in the belief that they had joined a social-democratic party are disappointed.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Are any other mergers or alliances considered?

[Stanescu] Both I and the Steering Committee have been informed by Cornescu that three meetings have recently been held with Verdet [Social Democratic Party of Labor]. In one county, Cornescu informed the branch that he will attract a new formation to the PSDT, but he declined to name it.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Do you have a strong organization in the Jiu Valley?

[Stanescu] We have no organization there whatsoever.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Under such conditions, how do you explain the fact that those bread-baking ovens that Cornescu—as party leader and not as a businessman—said that he was going to install in the Jiu Valley have not been installed in another county where there is a branch?

[Stanescu] The bread-baking ovens and the mills that he mentions on various occasions are just a source of income.

[Rosca-Stanescu] Is this an opposition party?

[Stanescu] It has not bothered the government party in any way. As a matter of fact, the slogan imposed by Cornescu is, "We are practicing constructive opposition." We are not allowed to criticize the FSN.

[Rosca-Stanescu] What is going to happen to the PSDT in the coming months?

[Stanescu] As far as I am concerned, I have learned from ADEVARUL that I have just been dismissed as general secretary. It seems that a restricted meeting was held at the company. The formations that have joined the PSDT place it outside of social democracy.

Major Newspapers in Danger of Halting Publication

AU2111135291 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 19 Nov 91 p 1

["Note from the newspapers ADEVARUL, ROMANIA LIBERA, and TINERETUL LIBER to Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan"]

[Text] We turn to you in a crucial moment for the existence of the written press in our country. Through the announced economic measures, which after other successive price increases have resulted in approximately a 300-400 percent increase in the general editing and press distribution costs, the independent newspapers and magazines ARE IN DANGER OF HAVING TO STOP THEIR PUBLICATION.

Romania would thus become the only country without a written press and would turn into an informational desert. In practical terms, as of 15 November, every publication can cover to only a very small extent its expenditures resulting from the announced measures.

Mr. Prime Minister, you are faced with a serious responsibility that is decisive for the destiny of democracy in Romania: to decide whether or not the population of this country will still be able to benefit from the elementary right to receive information.

We understand how necessary the measures that lead to the convertibility of our national currency are, but we want to draw attention to the fact that, in the case of the written press, we are talking about a special situation that is identical with the situation of the basic goods and services protected by the state through the government decision.

We mention that in all democratic countries the written press benefits from facilities that are vital for its existence.

Therefore, we ask for:

1. SUBSIDIZATION OF THE DIFFERENCE IN COSTS BETWEEN THE LATEST PRICE OF PAPER AND THE PROJECTED PRICE TO BE COVERED FROM THE STATE BUDGET;

2. REDUCTION OF PRESS TRANSPORTATION AND MAILING TARIFFS BY 50 PERCENT, AS IS DONE IN ALL CIVILIZED COUNTRIES.

If these absolutely legitimate requests, which are decisive for the destiny of the press and for democracy itself in Romania, are not fulfilled, we will consider your refusal as a deliberate act to repress the press in general, and the independent press in particular, and we hereby announce our determination to start a strike and demonstrate together with all our readers for the defense of the freedom of expression.

Newspaper ADEVARUL
Newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA
Newspaper TINERETUL LIBER

Iliescu Assesses Results of Visit to France

AU2211101891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0834 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/11/1991—Referring to his sojourn in Paris on Romania's first participation in a francophone summit, President Ion Iliescu stated to the ROMPRES correspondent in Paris that he considered this participation as natural, because the French language and culture have always played a special role in Romania's history. "The links between the two countries have very rich traditions. Besides, they have always been in harmony with Romania's major political and human interests. The more valid are these relations today. It is not by mere chance that France was among the first states to express an active stand in support of the Romanian revolution and of the efforts for general transformation of our social, political life, of the process of democratization and the economic reform."

Referring to his contacts in Paris with heads of state and government, President Iliescu mentioned mainly the direct talks with President Francois Mitterrand, with Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, with Vice-President Rene Faber, future president of the Swiss confederation, with the Tunisian premier, the deputy prime minister of Egypt Butrus Ghali, who may become UN secretary-general, and Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, as well as with representatives of numerous African states. Those were as many opportunities to survey the bilateral relations, the problems of outstanding interests and the ways to develop the links on a political and economic plane or in other domains.

"The signing of the Treaty of Friendly Understanding and Cooperation with France finalizes, on the one hand, a whole process of evolution of our bilateral relations, and records the level they have attained and, on the other hand, it is a starting point for a new stage of multilateral expansion of the collaboration between Romania and France. The document marks the mutual political will to increase the links in every way," the president said.

"During the meeting with Mr. Francois Mitterrand, that preceded the signing of the treaty, we have considered that especially in the economic relations there are big reserves still unused and a lot has to be done. So, we have recorded together the possibilities we do not turn to account yet and the mutual wish to back the economic factors of either party to develop the exchanges and increase the volume of French investments as a means to promote the updating of the Romanian economy and to give it new bases, apt to ensure its stability and competitivity."

International

Presidency's Jovic Departs for PRC 21 Nov

LD2111154691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency member Borisav Jovic is leaving for a working visit to the PRC today. During meetings with the highest-ranking Chinese officials, Jovic is expected to discuss the crisis in our country, efforts to resolve it in a peaceful way, and bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

Milosevic, Vance Discuss UN Peacekeeping Force

LD2111211691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance, the personal envoy to Yugoslavia of the U.N. secretary-general, said this afternoon he was not ready to give his opinion on the question of sending a U.N. peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia.

Speaking after a one-hour talk with President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, Vance said that U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar must be the first to learn his views.

This was Vance's and Milosevic's second meeting in four days, and took place during Vance's third mission to Yugoslavia this month. Vance arrived here on Sunday [17 November], accompanied by U.N. Under Secretary-General Marrack Goulding and a group of experts on the United Nations' peacekeeping forces.

Vance's reticence was also apparent in his statement that he is concerned about continuing violence and that it is inappropriate to talk about sending U.N. peacekeeping troops to Yugoslavia for as long as the violence continues.

The U.N. envoy again referred to devastated Vukovar which he toured two days ago.

After the talk, Milosevic said it was his impression that "considerable headway has been made towards the attainment of the objectives of the mission of the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy."

"After all I have heard, I believe that we have taken a major step towards reaching peace in the country and deploying peacekeeping troops which will protect primarily the Serbian people in the autonomous Krajina regions, their freedom and security, which is the ultimate objective," Milosevic said.

Greek Ship Carrying Aid Arrives in Dubrovnik

LD2111135891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Greek ship (Rodos II) sailed into Dubrovnik harbor this morning from Italy with a cargo of humanitarian aid for the beseiged city. The French hospital ship La Rance should set sail today with 300 women, children, sick, and disabled.

Continued talks between the Dubrovnik municipal authorities and Yugoslav Army representatives are planned for today in [word indistinct] with EC observers and French Minister Bernard Kouchner looking on. The talks will center on the normalization of life in Dubrovnik whose residents have been held as veritable hostages by Yugoslav invading forces for 53 days. There is still no running water or electricity in the resort city and shortages of [word indistinct] and medicine are now becoming more urgent.

Press Reviews Decision To Deploy Foreign Warships

LD2111224191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily "VECERNJI LIST" today writes that the West European Union's decision to send its warships to the Adriatic "is an open show of force, which is probably aimed at provoking conflicts with the Yugoslav Army on the border of Yugoslav territorial waters to justify military actions against Yugoslavia".

The daily notes that this decision is "aimed at encouraging and supporting secessionist forces in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia".

The West European Union decided in Bonn on Monday [18 November] to send British, French and Italian frigates to the waters of the Adriatic city of Dubrovnik to control "humanitarian actions and the evacuation of imperilled citizens".

VECERNJE NOVOSTI says that "weapons and military equipment from Germany, Hungary, Australia, Canada, America and other countries is sneaked into Croatia as humanitarian aid" despite the "U.N. Security Council embargo".

"The Yugoslav Navy can do nothing but act accordingly towards the reported foreign warships: throw them out, capture or sink them," the Belgrade daily "POLITIKA EKSPRES" writes.

"POLITIKA EKSPRES" warns of the "impudence and rowdyism with which France, Great Britain and Italy and their navies want to carry out the action of military-humanitarian intervention."

In its commentary, it says that all three states have been chosen for this action of "gunboat diplomacy" because

of their "rich tradition of presence and expansionism in the Adriatic Sea and its Yugoslav coast."

Yugoslav maritime law expert Dr. Stojan Novakovic told "POLITIKA EKSPRES" that "foreign warships must ask the Yugoslav Defence Ministry for permission to enter the internal territorial waters of Yugoslavia" and, if they enter them without permission, "the move would represent a gross violation of Yugoslavia's sovereignty and demonstration of military force."

Christina Sedele of the International Red Cross headquarters in Geneva told the daily over the phone that sending the warships had "nothing to do with the ships sent by the world Red Cross organization."

Netherland's Van den Broek on EC Pressure

LD2211065291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0551 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Hague, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—Hans van den Broek, foreign minister of The Netherlands and president of the Council of Ministers of the European Community (E.C.), believes that the U.N. Security Council will adopt a decision next week on engaging "the blue helmets" in Yugoslavia. Van den Broek believes that there will no longer be reason then for the presence of Yugoslav Army units in the Republic of Croatia.

In a debate held on Thursday [21 November] evening in the Dutch parliament's Foreign Political Committee, van den Broek said that by this time the E.C. would step up political pressure on Serbia, aimed at halting the conflict.

Van den Broek did not elaborate further about the measures but indicated that they could be adopted on December 2 at a meeting of the E.C. Council of Ministers in Brussels.

On this occasion, as expected in Brussels, it should be decided which of the Yugoslav republics would be exempted from the package of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, which the E.C. foreign ministers adopted in Rome on November 8.

Brussels and The Hague do not rule out the possibility of a declaration being adopted already today on the latest developments in Yugoslavia, in connection to which it is also believed that the E.C. could ask for the suspension of procedure for replacing Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar.

EC Asked To Cancel Suspension of Trade Accord

LD2111211191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 21 (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the bicameral Yugoslav parliament today asked the European Community to urgently review and cancel its decision suspending the agreement on trade and cooperation with Yugoslavia.

The Chamber assessed that the sanctions would only deepen the Yugoslav crisis, heighten social tensions and spread conflicts.

It also said that The Hague conference on Yugoslavia should abide by the original principles of the Community and not predecide a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The Chamber extended the terms of office of its members until July 31, 1992, when a new parliament is to be constituted. This was done to avoid any break in the Chamber's work, since the terms of its members, already extended twice, were originally due to expire on December 31 this year.

The Chamber accepted the resignations of a number of federal government members and federal officials, who submitted them or quitted their posts at the request of their republics, Slovenia and Croatia.

The resignations of Vice-Premier Zivko Pregl, Minister for Development Bozidar Marenbic, Finance Minister Branimir Zekan, Minister for Transport Joze Slokar and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Franc Horvat were accepted unanimously.

The Chamber also passed two laws enabling the Yugoslav People's Army and the federation to raise loans with the National Bank of Yugoslavia. The sum of about 21 billion dinars needed for financing the Army by the end of the year would be provided under one of the laws.

The credit should be reduced through the more regular fulfillment of the federal units' financial obligations towards the Federal Treasury.

The other law enables the federation to raise loans from the National Bank and to turn its short-term debts into long-term ones.

Today's session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces was attended by 46 delegates from the Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and its two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. According to the Chamber's decision on its proceedings, the number of delegates present was enough for valid decisionmaking.

Nonaligned Countries Urged To Prevent Oil Embargo

LD2111211991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia today invited the nonaligned countries—members of the U.N. Security Council—to make an effort to prevent the

imposition of an oil embargo on Yugoslavia, which is a founding member of the Nonaligned Movement.

In a talk in Belgrade with the ambassadors of six nonaligned Security Council member-states, Yugoslav Assistant Foreign Minister Novak Pribicevic said that Yugoslavia was most strongly opposed to an oil embargo because its effects might be totally adverse to the efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis, specifically to the drive to send a U.N. peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia. The ambassadors of Cuba, Ecuador, India, Yemen, Zaire and Zimbabwe said that their countries fully understood Yugoslavia's opposition to the intiative to impose an oil embargo.

Belgium, France and Great Britain, members of the U.N. Security Council from Europe, have drafted a resolution calling on the Security Council to put an embargo on oil deliveries to Yugoslavia. The embargo can be clamped if approved by nine of the 15 states of the Security Council, unless any one of the five permanent members should exercise its veto privilege. The nonaligned bloc in the Security Council includes also the Ivory Coast, which does not have an embassy in Belgrade. The elective members of the Security Council are elected for a period of two years.

The ambassadors paid tribute to Yugoslavia for its chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement and its years of efforts for the respect and implementation of the U.N. Charter and the principles of the movement.

Federal

Discussion on Markovic's Replacement Postponed

AU2111151491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Report by Olivija Rusovac]

[Text] After a brief discussion, in which the delegates presented arguments for and against, the Federal Chamber decided with a majority vote to put the discussion on confidence in Prime Minister Markovic on the agenda of the next session scheduled for 27 November. This proposal was endorsed by 66 delegates, 24 were against, and two abstained.

The Federal Chamber will also discuss the consequences of the EC's economic blockade. This is all from the SFRY Assembly.

BORBA on Meeting Between Markovic, Milosevic

LD2211121391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1033 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic met on Wednesday [20 November].

Invoking "well-informed sources", Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Friday [22 November] that the "talk was organized at Milosevic's initiative", that it "lasted for two hours" and that it "included numerous topics pertaining to the current Yugoslav political situation," as well as the "issue of the federal government."

The Yugoslav bicameral parliament's Federal Chamber postponed on Thursday [21 November] deliberation on confidence to Markovic and Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar for next Wednesday [27 November]. Previously, the federal parliament's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces came out with a no-confidence vote to Markovic and Loncar on last Friday [15 November].

BORBA writes that it was "rumoured" on Thursday among the newsmen and deputies that voting was postponed "because this had allegedly been agreed in mutual contact between Milosevic and Markovic and federal parliament President Slobodan Gligorijevic."

The paper notes that "no one was in a position to confirm or deny this."

Invoking "close-to-federal government sources", Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes on Friday that Markovic "will surely resign" and that "it was only a matter of days when he will make his decision public."

Titograd daily POBJEDA said on Wednesday that Yugoslav Presidency Vice-President Branko Kostic and Prime Minister Markovic met last Tuesday [19 November], following the presidency session at which the possibility for a new prime minister designate was being debated. This report, however, could not be confirmed.

Chamber Agrees on New Rules of Procedure

LD2111154291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—After a three-hour debate today the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber reached an agreement on unblocking the Federal Chamber and on the way it should function in the future, because of which the convened session of the Chamber was 10 hours late.

This morning the committee continued yesterday's debate on this subject. It was agreed to submit a proposal to the chamber that, in the event the delegates withdrawn from the federal parliament by their respective assemblies do not attend the session of the Federal Chamber, the Chamber could function if the session is attended by the majority of the remaining delegates. The majority of the envisaged quorum [as received] would be sufficient for decisionmaking.

The exception would be if they pass decisions on questions of war and peace, human rights, and national equality which would need a quorum plus 10 delegates.

The Human Rights Committee, the Legislative-Legal Commission, and the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations will for the next session specify the segments from these three fields which fall under the jurisdiction of the Federal Chamber.

The Committee will propose to the Federal Chamber to adopt—apart from these two—a working conclusion whereby the Chamber, in case of a renewed blockade because of a failure of certain delegates to attend, would examine this problem and possibly take measures to lift the blockade.

These conclusions of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations practically means that the number of the Federal Chamber delegates is reduced by the number of delegates from Slovenia and Croatia and instead of 220, there will now be 160 delegates. Eighty-one delegates would be sufficient for a quorum and 41 for decision-making. The Chamber would decide on the three most important questions with 91 votes.

Assembly of Republics, Provinces Continues Work

Extends Deputies' Mandates

LD2111123891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces has extended until 31 July next year the mandate of delegates of this Assembly Chamber as well as of the officials of this Chamber which it elects or appoints.

This has been done because the mandate of the delegates of this chamber, which has already twice been extended, expires at the end of the year. Their mandate has been extended until the constituting of the new SFRY Assembly.

Accepts Several Resignations

LD2111130591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces today accepted the resignations of several members of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], federal ministers, and their deputies.

The Chamber unanimously accepted the resignation of Kazimir Zivko Pregl, vice president of the FEC; Dr. Bozidar Marendic, member of the FEC and federal secretary for development; Branimir Zekan, member of the FEC and federal secretary for finance; Joze Slokar, member of the FEC and federal secretary for transport and communications; as well as Franc Horvat, member of the FEC and federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries.

Likewise, the Chamber also accepted the resignations of Antun Seda, deputy federal secretary for agriculture; Ivan Erzen, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs; and Cedomir Pavlovic, deputy federal secretary for transport and communications.

At the proposal of the FEC president the Chamber also relieved FEC member Branimir Pajkovic of his duties because he has taken up another post.

Allows JNA To Obtain Credits

LD2111132991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces today passed two laws making it possible for the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] and the federation to obtain credits from the Yugoslav National Bank so as to ensure funds in a situation in which the federal treasury, as a result of reduced payments from the federal units, has been left empty.

The law on the sources of funds for the financing of the specific needs of national defense this year from the primary issue [of money] ensures credit which will amount to at least 21 billion dinars. If the federal units were to meet their commitments to the federal treasury in a more regular way, this loan would be less, depending on the amount paid in by the republics and provinces.

The law on financing the Federation envisages that the short-term credit, which the Yugoslav National Bank has approved for the federation for this year, is transformed into long-term credit. The federation has so far incurred debts with the Yugoslav National Bank, not counting money for the JNA, amounting to more than 10 billion dinars. Loans to the JNA and the federation will be issued with an interest rate of 5 percent, and the first repayments will begin to be made in 1995.

Defense Minister Congratulates Forces on Victory

LD2111183191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Following the completion of combat activities in the Vukovar area, Federal Secretary for National Defense Army general Veljko Kadijevic and his aides today received Commander of the First Military District Colonel-General Zivota Panic, Commander of the "North" Operational Group Major- General Andrija Biorcevic, Commander of the "South" Operational Group Colonel Milo Mrksic, and Commander of the First Flight Unit of the First Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense Corps Colonel Branislav Petrovic, and congratulated them on their victory.

As the Federal Secretariat for National Defense reports, the reception was also attended by a number of officers, soldiers, and volunteers who had particularly distinguished themselves in the fierce battles on the streets and in the catacombs of this town which had been fortified for years.

In his long address on this occasion General Kadijevic paid tribute to all the participants in the almost two-months-long clashes in the course of which the elite Ustasha forces and numerous mercenaries from Yugoslavia and abroad were thoroughly defeated and captured. Stressing that the combat successes, fearlessness, and stamina displayed by the officers, soldiers, and volunteers will be a powerful incentive and inspiration for all fighters and officers of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the Territorial Defense in their battle against vampire-style fascism and the restoration of genocide against the Serbian people, Army General Veljko Kadijevic said: "We will keep with due respect in our memory all those officers, soldiers, and volunteers who invested their lives in this victory."

Bank Leader on Debt Repayment, Inflation Problem

LD1711162791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1518 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Despite the "difficult circumstances," Yugoslavia paid back around 1.1 billion dollars of its foreign debt principal this year, not counting the debt of the Republic of Slovenia, as National Bank of Yugoslavia vice-governor Vukasin Markovic said today.

Markovic said in an interview to TANJUG that Yugoslavia's foreign-currency reserves would stand at around 3.5 billion dollars by the end of the year, and observed that the sum would "in normal circumstances be sufficient for payments of two and a half months."

The Yugoslav Central Bank vice-governor said that inflation could reach 247 percent by the end of the year, and that "such trends are considered to be still bearable in the present war conditions." He observed that the annual inflation rate for the January-October period of this year stood at 184.4 percent.

Yugoslav Central Bank Vice-governor Markovic said that the secession of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia would "doubtlessly impede" the implementation of the monetary and credit policies for next year, and warned of the possibility of hyper-inflation, which he said could stand at 791 percent at the end of 1992.

Markovic said that Yugoslavia's social product would be by around 30 percent lower than in 1990, when it stood at 60 billion dollars.

The Yugoslav Central Bank vice-governor said that the current balance of payments deficit with the hard-currency area would exceed two billion dollars, and that it would stand at around 209 million dollars with the clearing-payments area.

Slovenia

Government Expected To Propose Confidence Vote

AU2111170291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] After the two meetings of the Demos council that were open to the public, the presidents of the parties in the ruling coalition met behind closed doors this morning. The meeting was also attended by some of the presidents of the clubs of deputies and deputies of the Demos parties. Besides current matters they also discussed opposition's initiative demanding that the vote of no confidence in the government be held in the Slovene Assembly. We have learned that the Demos leadership proposed to Prime Minister Lojze Peterle that the government consider whether it would be more productive if the government itself proposed the confidence vote. Deputies are supposed to take their stance about this individually. After the crisis that has emerged, the representatives of the ruling coalition will in this way be able to see whether the Demos still has the majority in the parliament. We have also learned that the republican government at today's session decided to offer the vote of confidence. In the meantime the club of deputies of the ruling coalition is meeting for the second time, but their meeting is going on behind closed doors. They are most probably discussing whether the ruling coalition will be able to hold the vote for Lojze Peterle. Namely, Prime Minister Peterle can supposedly propose the vote of confidence only in relation to a demand for the adoption of a certain law.

Expert Explains Historical Aspect of Borders

92BA0115A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Oct 91 p 9

[Interview with Slovene historian Dr. Bogo Grafenauer by Stane Pucko; place and date not given: "Truths and Myths About Borders"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] For the most part, the continually repeated assertions about the "administrative" significance of the borders between the republics within the territory of Yugoslavia are completely unfounded—with a few exceptions, in the eastern, Serbian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian areas.

Slovene historian and academician Bogo Grafenauer took part in the Paris Peace Conference after World War II as an expert in territorial questions as they pertain to state borders. For the current negotiations at the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, Dr. Grafenauer armed the Slovenian delegates with a study on Yugoslavia's internal and external borders, in which he considers the existing borders, their origins, and the basis for their

emergence. The expert report is entitled "Do Yugoslavia's Interrepublican and External Borders Have Administrative or Historical Origins?" All of this prompted our talk with Dr. Grafenauer.

[Pucko] What do you think about the assertion that the borders between the republics in Yugoslavia are administrative, and about the reasons given for such an assertion?

[Grafenauer] For the most part, the continually repeated assertions about an "administrative" significance of the borders between the republics of Yugoslavia are completely unfounded—with a few exceptions, in the eastern, Serbian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian areas of the federation—and the same is true of the myth that the borders in fact came into being only after the end of World War II, without any historical basis or without the necessary consideration being given to their ethnic and other foundations.

We can find fault with the borders as being new and ill-conceived only with respect to a few rare exceptions; in contrast, there is much more ample ground for making such assertions about the borders that emerged either externally or between internal administrative units in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Yugoslavia during the first decades of this century, between 1912 and 1931 (and partially in 1918-20 as well), based on war victories and Pasic's Greater Serbian plans, linked to old imperial notions about the significance of the army and of victory in war and through force in establishing the world order. The mythology about the self-sacrifice of the Serbian nation for Yugoslavia is to this day one of the ostensibly effective means in the struggle by the Serbian government for hegemony over other Yugoslav nations and minorities, especially as a way to incite simple-minded and good Serbian people to struggle for national socialist (fascist-Nazi) political and geopolitical conceptions. The "science" of the "administrative" borders between the republics of Yugoslavia is also part and parcel of this political mythology. In other words, we can silence this question only in terms of the oldness (historical maturity) of these borders, and moreover in terms of their "level" (old and constant state or provincial borders, borders based on ethnic structures and geographic-commercial necessities that cannot be subjected to far-reaching changes, and so forth).

Old and New Borders

[Pucko] So what kind of borders are there in Yugoslavia?

[Grafenauer] Only a small part of the external borders of Slovenia (Yugoslavia) are "old," because I regard borders that date back to before 1800 as "old." Slovenia's southeastern border (the internal border in Yugoslavia) is the oldest border in Yugoslavia. The theory about its administrative significance reflects the appalling ignorance of Serbian politicians, jurists (B. Kosutic), professors, and academicians. One can excuse only the first of these—politicians—regarding to their understandable ignorance and full-blown incompetence. All the others cannot be excused, given their grand scholarly titles.

The line from the Mur River at Verzej, to the Rjecina River and its basin, and then to the Gulf of Kvarner at Rijeka, was the state border between the Holy Roman Empire and the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom for around 1,200 years, a continuous border until the collapse of the German Confederation in 1866. Only at two places was there a minor, more recent shift to the detriment of Slovenia (in Zumberak because of the settlement of refugees in the 16th century, which split off from Carniola as part of the Military Frontier at the beginning of the 18th century (1705), and after the dissolution of the Military Frontier in 1881 became part of Croatia; and the Cabar district, which became the Zrinski property during the 16th century, and thus has been regarded as part of Croatia since the 17th century).

Only two parts of the Slovenian border with Croatia have a different origin. The southern border of Prekmurje from Verzej to the state border was completely new in 1919 (or rather in 1931, when Medimurje was unaccountably annexed to the Maribor region and separated only with the emergence of the banovina in 1931), and the border in the Istrian Peninsula between Slovenia and Croatia in 1945 (formally in Zone B of the STO [Free Territory of Trieste] in 1954, although that border existed administratively much earlier). Both borders are based on the ethnic principle.

[Pucko] In the Middle Ages, however, there emerged certain other borders in the territory of present-day Yugoslavia.

[Grafenauer] The external border of Dubrovnik and its republic emerged (regardless of the position of the republic liberated from Venetian supreme administration in 1358), and it took shape between 1272 (the acquisition of Lastovo) and 1418 (the acquisition of Konavalo). During that time, the border along the Drava River also emerged as an internal provincial border between Slavonia and Hungary, from the mouth of the Mur toward the east (Medimurje north of the Drava belonged to the prefect of Zalo and Hungary, while as of the 16th century it became the feudal Zrinski property, which indirectly linked it to Croatia). However, at the eastern end this border has not always been the same. In the 13th century, Slavonia extended to the east as far as the Podravska Slatina-Brod line, in the 15th century as far as Valpovo, and the Turkish conquest pushed it back in the 16th century to the Bjelovar-Djurdjevac line and along the Drava as far as Novi Zrin at the mouth of the Mur. It was only after the liberation of Slavonia from Turkish rule that this border once again extended towards the east, definitively from Petrovaradin in 1741-45, with the annexation of three Slavonian prefects (Virovitica, Pozega, Vukovar) under Ban rule. All of the territory south of this line was united with Croatia-Slavonia in 1881, with the dissolution of the Military Frontier.

[Pucko] It is a known fact that the Croatian borders with Bosnia, in Baranya and in Syrmia, took shape later than those in Slavonia.

[Grafenauer] The border between Croatia and Bosnia is significantly newer because the Turkish conquest there

destroyed all the older structures. Until 1908 (annexation), however, that border in its entirety was part of an elevated type of state border (between Venice or Austria in Dalmatia and Hungary-Croatia from Lika on one side and with the Ottoman Empire on the other side). The border from Velika Kladusa toward the east—mostly along the Sava River—to the mouth of the Drina is based on the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz—although between 1718 and 1739 it also extended a little to the south of the Sava—and it underwent a small permanent adjustment only at Dvor in 1718. The southeastern border of Bosnia with Croatia from Metkovic to Imotske Polje emerged as the Venetian-Turkish state border in 1699-1700, first extending to Knin with the 1718 peace treaty, and further to Velika Kladusa with the 1791 Treaty of Sistova, which represented a slight adjustment in the 1739 borders.

Only two short Croatian borders in the north and east are more recent: the border in Baranya along the Danube and the new border in Syrmia, south of Ilok. Both came into being only in 1945. According to Milovan Djilas, the chairman of the commission that studied the question of this border in 1945, the basis for these two borders was ethnic composition—the predominance of the Croat or Serb population in this region. As recently as 1991 Djilas has stated that he is convinced that a shift in this border based on ethnic composition would be unfounded and unjust.

[Pucko] But the ethnic principle is not the only thing to consider in establishing borders?

[Grafenauer] Especially not in small territories that are incapable of surviving independently. Even at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, which introduced the right to self-determination based on Wilsonian principles, two other principles besides the ethnic one were put forward on equal footing: the safeguarding of necessary commercial links (the blockades of the nodes at Knin between Croatia and Dalmatia and at Okucani between Croatia and Slavonia are very instructive examples of the need to consider these questions) and mutual economic dependence. Even then, Serbian policy, based on its stronger military force and its participation in the war on the side of the victorious Entente, constituted an affirmation of the basic national imperialism, which through Pasic's positions in August and September 1918 was expressly opposed to the principle of self-determination, and thus was essentially detrimental to the aspirations of the Slovene nation during liberation, especially in Carinthia. In principle, the same positions were repeated in Moljevic's plan, adopted in 1942 by Draza Mihailovic's staff, which today is manifested not only in Serbian journalism in its assessment of the entire history of the Yugoslav nations since 1900—not only through biased interpretations, which is incomprehensible for journalists, but also through a series of historical untruths, which unfortunately even professional historians are allowing, together with, of course, even more "experts" from the ranks of jurists, sociologists, and men of letters. Similar things are obviously being manifested among others as well, and that is precisely the cause of the tragic historic situation of the Yugoslav nations in our day. A story: Several days after the adoption of the Serbian Constitution, which—contrary to the SFRY Constitution—eliminated the autonomous provinces in Serbia, in early April 1988, Dobrica Cosic told me that Serbian interests were fulfilled through this leveling out of the rights of the Yugoslav republics (at the time, I did not know whether this was the position of Slobodan Milosevic) and that Serbian demands had been satisfied by the unification of Serbia. I drew his attention to the Serbs outside the republic and to the need to integrate them, while at the same time pointing out that this question, given the dispersion of the Serb population, could be resolved only in the sense of a common cultural area and without changes in the borders. At the time, this was obvious to Cosic as well, just as it appeared obvious from the statements by Milosevic, but today we know that both these men are saying something completely different—whereby Milosevic does not bother me as a politician and even less as a national socialist ideologue, even despite the slogan of "one Volk, one Reich," while his "socialist" nationalistic supporters, from academicians to misguided simple-minded people, add to this "one Fuehrer." Such a position bothers me coming from a great writer and person whom I believed would actually make an effort to understand contemporary Serbian history, but in this terrible way he has betrayed his own ideologization. A member of a small nation—and this includes all the Yugoslav nations, together with Albanians and Hungarians—must always recognize the same rights for all other nations (and calling them "nationalities" is simply an expression of nationalist imperialism and a demand for inequality) that he seeks for himself. That was my point of departure in my discussion with Cosic two and a half years ago, and I cannot renounce it either as a historian nor as a human being.

Borders Extracted Forcibly by War

[Pucko] So what about these "administrative" borders?

[Grafenauer] Based on precisely articulated positions, I must repeat in principle that the idea of "administrative" borders can apply only to new borders with an "ethnic" basis, which are not contrary to unsolvable commercial and economic questions to such an extent that they affect a significantly larger number of members of other nations. We are talking here not only about allusions, but also about the obvious consequences of the fool's revolution of various "krajinas," at Knin, Karlovac, Sisak, and Okucani. Borders that have matured historically, as either state borders or provincial borders, and that have lasted for centuries or even millennia cannot be considered simply "administrative," especially if they were based on ethnic structures when they came into being, and because of this they are also borders between structurally different ethnic areas. It is precisely in this regard that the borders in the eastern areas are significantly less established and significantly less historically mature.

Thus, all these borders are new and historically immature, they have emerged and changed through various wars and acts of force, the methods of earlier times, which, unfortunately, the Serbian side in our disputes is still defending journalistically, ideologically, and with the help of leading politicians as the decisive criterion in our completely changed times.

Croatia

Republic Restricts Movements of Draft-Age Males

LD2111191491 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia has issued the following announcement:

The movement of all men of draft age in the Republic of Croatia outside their place of permanent residence has been restricted. Only in special cases, with special permits obtained from an authorized body for defense affairs, can these people move outside the place of permanent residence, including trips abroad.

Men of draft age, who have not been on the list of any such body for defense affairs, are obliged to immediately report to such a body in the place of their residence in order that their wartime duties be determined.

At the same time, it is their duty to immediately report any change of address to the same body. Should they fail to act accordingly, the Internal Affairs Ministry and the military police will take measures of forced detention and file appropriate charges against these persons.

Defense Ministry Confirms Dedakovic's Arrest

LD2111234191 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] In Zagreb the 40th session of the Supreme State Council has been held. The situation in Croatia's theaters of war was discussed at the session as well as a growing body of evidence about a conspiracy within one part of Croatia's defense aiming to weaken it, create mistrust among the people and topple the constitutional order of the republic as its ultimate goal. These activities are being accompanied by an intense campaign which is supposed to prove the so-called genocidal nature of the Croatian people and to prevent the coming recognition of Croatia, and end to the war and the peace-forces' intervention from taking place.

The council has concluded that one should demand that an impartial international commission be set up to investigate the allegations of Serbian propaganda and the alleged murder of 41 children in Vukovar. The council has concluded that all economic and human resources and potentials should be mobilized to their maximum over the next few weeks to enable Croatia to survive through the closing chapter of the war against it.

The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia has announced Lieutenant-Colonel Mile Dedakovic, the former commander of the Vukovar defense was today taken for cross-examination by organs of the military police. Colonel Dedakovic was cross-examined because of his leaving the battlefield without the Chief of the General Staff's consent and his failure to heed the Chief of the General Staff's request to submit his report.

Supreme Council Says Plot To Weaken Defense

LD2211034491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—The Supreme State Council of Croatia said today that "evidence is mounting of a plot in one section of Croatian defence to weaken the republic's defences and overthrow its constitutional system".

Croatian radio reports that "these actions are accompanied by a strong propaganda campaign aimed at presenting the Croatian people as genocidal and preventing the coming recognition of Croatia, an end to the war and an intervention by international peacekeeping troops".

According to the radio, the council said that "an unbiased international commission should be appointed to investigate the allegations of the Serbian propaganda about the massacre of 41 children in Vukovar".

The Social Democratic Party of Croatia today demanded that the Supreme State Council be dissolved since "it is not based in the Croatian constitution and its decisions give rise to political confusion".

The party leader, Antun Vujic, said that "the political situation in Croatia has been critical since the fall of Vukovar, Slunj and Zaborsko and intensified attacks on other towns and that accountability should be established for the present situation".

General Staff Issues Statement on Vukovar Evacuees

LD2111215991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] In order to inform the public on the situation regarding the Vukovar defenders and the escaped civilians as objectively as possible, the Croatian Army General Staff has issued the following statement:

All the reports in the Belgrade press, as well as those from Gen. Raseta, that the Croatian side did not accept the wounded and expelled citizens of Vukovar are so banal and predictable that we do not wish to refute them, but instead to briefly inform all citizens of Croatia, as well as the international public, that the General Staff and other institutions of the Republic of Croatia made all necessary preparations to receive the wounded and the expelled. A General Staff commission, comprising different kinds of experts, is already on the spot in order to facilitate the psychological and physical recovery and

preparation of Croatian soldiers to continue the war against the occupier and to expel the occupier out of the Croatian territory.

On-the-spot reports indicate that many Serbian civilians of the brave city of Vukovar—who were taken to Sremska Mitrovica—would have opted to join the Croatian side had they been allowed direct contact with representatives of the International Red Cross. The occupier prevented this, alleging that their Croatian homeland does not wish to welcome all these citizens.

The occupier has also shown cruelty in its treatment of the wounded from Vukovar hospital. They were taken to Sremska Mitrovica in order to conceal the defeating truth: that all citizens of Vukovar, regardless of their nationality or religion, fought side by side as defenders and Army members, who would have joined the evacuation on the Croatian side, were also treated in Vukovar hospital.

Croatian Rights Party Activities Condemned

92BA0130A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 91 p 12

[Unattributed article: "Announcement by Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs; 'Croatian Defense Force Is Demonstrative Force of Quasi-Political Strength of Croatian Rights Party'"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] The criminal acts perpetrated by members of the HOS [Croatian Defense Force] fit in with, and in some cases are even prompted by, the subversive intelligence centers that are acting to destroy the democratic government of the republic, because the criminal nature of such acts is evident, and the basic intention is to depict the entire republic and its defense forces as a fascist-state creation. This, among other things, was stated in an announcement Sunday by two Croatian ministries.

HINA, Zagreb—An announcement by the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] emphasizes that "after repeated provocations, the spreading of spurious reports, criminal acts, and inappropriate political propaganda, parts of the Croatian Rights Party [HSP], and especially by its leader, Dobroslav Paraga," owe the public information about the following:

"It is known that the Law on Political Parties of the Republic of Croatia permits activities by all political parties that strive to achieve their political goals through democratic and other political means. Similarly, the Law on National Defense of the Republic of Croatia defines the composition, purpose, and deployment of the republic's armed forces," the announcement by the Ministry of Defense and MUP emphasizes, adding the following:

Need for Unified Organization

"Based on these facts, the government of the Republic of Croatia, during these times of war, has indicated to all political subjects the need for a unified organization of the armed forces. This presupposes that all previously self-organized armed formations become part of the unified forces for the defense of the Republic of Croatia.

"Such
defensive efforts by the government, for the purpose
of defending the sovereignty and integrity of the republic as efficiently as possible, have been accepted by all political parties. However, despite the emphasized principle in its statutes, according to which it 'strives to achieve its goals through peaceful, nonviolent means' (Paragraph 5 of the statutes), the HSP is intensifying activities in the formation of its own armed formations—a party militia, the so-called HOS—whose self-styled commanders are attempting to preserve their independence, more often than not their arbitrariness, and their inexpertness. As a party militia, these armed formations lack an internal structure and the necessary military discipline, they are not usable, and thus far they have not been used in organized, defensive activities in the defense of the republic's sovereignty. Moreover, due to the arbitrariness of the self-styled commanders, the inexpertness in military matters, the manifestation and presence of these units is detracting from the defensive efforts of the organized defense forces of the Republic of Croatia."

Do Not Accept Subordination

"With respect to the HOS party militia, it is obvious why individuals recruited in this way do not accept the necessary military subordination in the defensive efforts of the republic. The reason is that military efforts demand of everyone the self-sacrifice and discipline that is demonstrated every day by Croatian soldiers on the battlefields across the republic. However, the members of the HOS lack this. The HOS members wage war in bars, the HOS members are outside the war zones, the HOS members are sources of alarming calculations, a demonstrative force of the quasi-political strength of the HSP. Moreover, HOS members are the perpetrators of a number of illegal activities, including profiteering in weapons procurement and weapons theft for the sake of personal material gain. HOS members are the perpetrators of serious criminal acts, such as infringing upon the inviolability of private homes, illegal searches of private homes with the confiscation of the owners' property, break-ins, burglaries, robbery, murder, and crimes against the civilian population," Sunday's announcement by the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs alleges, emphasizing the following:

More Than 300 Criminal Acts

"Over the latest period of time, perpetrators in HOS uniforms have committed more than 300 such criminal acts. The HOS members commit these criminal acts in uniforms similar to the uniforms of the soldiers who are honorably demonstrating bravery and patriotism at the fronts. We must also emphasize the subversive concealment of the leadership of the so-called HOS, which the HOS members are attempting to build into the defense forces of the republic—the National Guard Corps [ZNG] and the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The

goal here is twofold: to compromise Croatian soldiers, and to take credit for the bravery and combat successes of the Croatian forces."

"These criminal acts perpetrated by members of the HOS fit in with, and in some cases are even prompted by, the aggressive, subversive intelligence centers that are acting to destroy the democratic government of the republic, because the criminal nature of such acts is evident, and the basic intention is to depict the entire republic and its defense forces as a fascist state creation."

Personal, Petty Political Interests

"The leaders of the HSP, and especially its chairman, Dobroslav Paraga, through promotional propaganda activities, such as his press conference on 1 November, are detracting from the wartime efforts of the republic at the most serious moment, for the sake of personal, partisan, petty political interests. He declares all the heroic efforts by Croatian defense to be treason, offering deliverance through a totalitarian-fascist system as the way to achieve the sovereignty for the republic."

"Herein lies a trap, especially for young people who, led by Croatian idealism, might don HOS uniforms without realizing that they are joining the private guard unit of a usurper who is attempting to convince the Croatian public that he is the man who will change the course of events in the achievement of Croatian sovereignty.

"The latest evidence of the criminal activity of the HOS is the tragic event that took place on 30 October 1991 Members of the HOS, not at the battlefield, but rather in the city of Zagreb, and armed with extensive weaponry, provoked a clash, killing members of the ZNG and seriously wounding members of the MUP reserves, two Croatian soldiers who had fought in every battle in the Vukovar, Okucani, and Lika campaigns. The perpetrator of this murder and serious injury was Bosko Landeka, the so-called commander of personal security for Dobroslav Paraga, a criminal condemned for 31 similarly antisocial criminal acts."

Party's Paramilitary Formations

"It is tragic that Paraga's HOS is threatening and making preparations to use armed force to free Bosko Landeka, the perpetrator of the criminal act of murder, from judicial institutions. The party's armed formations are clearly paramilitary formations. They are obstructing the defense forces of the Republic of Croatia, compromising democratic accomplishments in the struggle for the republic's sovereignty, and in the struggle for power they are basically using criminal, terrorist, and anarchistic methods.

"Croatian democratic forces, government institutions, and especially the competent Ministries of Internal Affairs, Defense, and Justice, despite their full commitment to defensive resistance in the face of the aggressor, have at their disposal the powers, in accordance with the law, to effectively eliminate these sorts of illegal party activities in the form of the creation of party-based military formations," concludes the announcement by the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, which was signed by Zdravko Zidovec, deputy minister of Internal Affairs.

New Defense Minister for Krajina Appointed

LD2111210791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Knin, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—After today's session of the assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina [SAOK], Dr. Milan Babic continues to remain the head of the government of the Krajina region. The assembly, in fact, today accepted his report on the work of the government hitherto.

The deputies' club of the Banija-Kordun region today proposed that the SAOK from today be called Serbian Krajina [Srpska Krajina]. According to this proposal the new municipal regions of Okucani, Petrinja, Karlovac, and part of Sisak were also joined to it today. Although a government reshuffle was expected, so far only one appointment is known. Retired Lieutenant-Colonel Milan Tabruk, who has come from the battlefields of Banija and Kordun, has been appointed as minister of defense.

The work of the assembly began with an incident—the departure of Milan Martic (secretary of the Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs) and a small group of deputies from the session, which Babic, in talks with journalists, called obstruction. In fact, this session did not bring to an end the clashes between the Krajina leaders or factions. [passage omitted]

Krajina Assembly Expresses Confidence in Babic

LD2211042491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0141 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today cast a vote of confidence to current Premier Milan Babic.

The assembly of the self-proclaimed autonomus region Krajina opened with Krajina Interior Minister Milan Martic and a smaller group of deputies walking out of its session.

Milan Martic had earlier, together with a group of like-minded persons from the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), accused Premier Babic of autocracy and corruption.

Babic at the session set out that the aim of the government was "to preserve and defend the area of Krajina from aggressions on the part of the Republic of Croatia and to defend its political-legal subjectivity and integrity."

Beside the eleven municipalities, the Serbian Krajina today was joined by the municipality regions of Karlovac, Okucani, Petrinja and a part of Sisak in the region of Banija.

Mobilization in Knin Krajina; Refugee Status

92BA0123A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 91 p 4

[Article by B. Solesa: "Full Support for the Presidency"]

[Text] Knin—A general mobilization "of all entities and forces in the defense system" is being ordered over the territory of the entire Serbian Autonomous Oblast [SAO] Krajina. That order, issued on 26 October (Saturday) by Milan Babic, prime minister of SAO Krajina, further states—"all those subject to military obligations who are located outside the territory of SAO Krajina are to report immediately to military sections or administrative authorities for national defense of the opstinas in which they permanently reside."

The third paragraph of the order, that the order be broadcast through all the media, is already being carried out, and here Serbian Radio Knin has a special role. The fourth and last paragraph in this directive, stating that mobilization is to begin immediately, "upon communication of the order," has been carried out very quickly, because on Sunday, 27 October, the 2d Brigade of SAO Krajina, made up of fighters from the broad area of Vukovica and the hinterland of Skradin, was formed near Zitnici.

That same day, the government of SAO Krajina accepted the basic principles for resolution of the governmental and political crisis in Yugoslavia that had been adopted by the SFRY Presidency in a session held on 2 October 1991 and concluded that the platform for regulating the constitutional and legal status of Krajina in a future Yugoslavia fits in that framework, and it adopted a decision to join in the Belgrade Declaration as the basis for a future constitution of the new joint state. The government of Krajina believes that the SFRY Presidency is a legal and legitimate body and accords it full support in the effort to preserve governmental and legal continuity and Yugoslavia's status as a state under international law.

The decision of the large People's Assembly of the Serbian Oblast of Slavonia and Baranja and Western Srem to accept the Declaration on Unification into a unified Krajina and the convening of a joint session of the governments of the unified Krajina was welcomed in that same meeting of the government.

A Disastrous Third Mistake

On the basis of the operating procedure of the Assembly of SAO Krajina, the government adopted a decision that dismissed all judges, presidents of opstina courts, and opstina public prosecutors and that named new opstina and district judges and court presidents, opstina and district public prosecutors, and also judges in misdemeanor courts.

A decision in the extraordinary session of the Executive Council of the Benkovac SO [Opstina Assembly] adopted resolutions—orders that best illustrate work and life under wartime conditions. In the Hotel Kotarac, for example, a labor requirement has been instituted covering all persons necessary to care for the refugees. Beginning on 1 November, "public labeling of all criminal offenders" is required. Security measures are also being conducted in stores, hotels, and restaurants; the penalty for the first offense will be to shut them down for seven days, the second offense will mean being shut down for three months, and for the third offense hotels and restaurants will be closed permanently.

A resolution was also adopted to the effect that all those persons who have dishonored the image of territorial defense [TO], the police, and the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] are to be sent to the front combat lines by 1 November 1991, and the Zadar Detachment quartered in the "Ivo Lola Ribar" School in Benkovac and volunteers from Serbia quartered in the Hotel Kotarac are to move out immediately and commit themselves to "appropriate tasks." The Benkovac SO recommended that TO commander Zoran Lakic and Bosko Drazic, chief of the Benkovac Public Security Station [SJB], join the present members of the Executive Council in order to make its work more efficient. In that extraordinary session of the Executive Council of the Benkovac SO, a request was sent to the bodies of government of SAO Krajina that they set up courts and a prosecutor's office and that they begin their regular work. It was requested that nonperishable foodstuffs, which the fighters can use in the field, not be distributed as aid to the rest of the population.

All of this is occurring in a situation when there is an official truce, but when there are continual skirmishes around Zadar and over the entire area that SAO Krajina holds under its control with the help of JNA units. There is no news whatsoever in connection with the exchange of 500 prisoners, which is the estimated number held by both sides in the conflict.

Talks being conducted in Pakovo Selo about releasing the prisoners have not been resumed, because on Sunday, 27 October, the mission of EC observers took the day off. A day earlier, on Saturday, a team of the EC observer mission, including members of the joint commission for return of refugees, Bosko Popac of Knin and Dragan Soric of Drnis, visited one of the centers for receiving refugees in which the inmates include both Serbs and Croats. In that center, there are 40 Serbs and 60 Croats who fled from Drnis more than a month ago, when the battle was being waged for that city.

The Refugees Are Grateful to the Army

The EC observers were most interested in the question of whether the Croat refugees had come voluntarily and whether they wanted to return, and what the living

conditions were. An old woman who is in the reception center with her husband, who is immobile, said that she came there by her own will, and was grateful for the help that had been given her by the military authorities during the evacuation and to the hosts who had received her in Knin.

"It is good here, the food is good, we have hot water, no one bothers us, nor asks who we are and what we are. I went to Drnis a few days ago and was in my house. Nothing was missing, but I do not know if that is still the case," the old Croatian woman said, declining to give her name, in the end expressing a desire to go back to Drnis, and if that is not possible because of the present conditions, to go to her daughter's in Solin, because then it would be easier for her to take care of her husband.

A family of three from Drnis, the husband a Croat, the wife a Serb, and their small daughter, is also being cared for in this center. Their story is similar. They are grateful for the help and hospitality. They consider the desire to go home normal, just as all those who have left their homes would like to do. A Croat from Drnis, an automobile mechanic, is here with his wife and two children. He said that he came voluntarily and can move about anywhere he likes. His house in Drnis had not been damaged, but there are those, he said, whose homes have been damaged. However, the greatest problem is that there is no water or electricity, the food supply is disrupted, and there are no doctors. They all anticipate that this will be worked out and they will return. For those who wish to go to relatives, transportation will be organized in coming days. The others will remain and wait for more normal living conditions to be brought about in Drnis.

The purpose of this visit by the EC mission was to check out certain obviously false reports launched in some of the news media that the Croats from Drnis had been taken off to Knin by force and put in prison.

Serbia

Vojvodina Magyars Call For Self-Government

LD2111230591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Democratic Community of Magyars in Vojvodina objects to the fact that The Hague conference on Yugoslavia does not guarantee cultural autonomy and minority self-government for the Magyars in Vojvodina. In its letter to Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference, the organization points out that the latest variant of the document on the conference only guarantees special rights for the Serbs in Croatia.

The letter stresses that Vojvodina is a historically evolved cultural and economic community, and this fact has to be recognized.

Kosovar Activists Arrested in Kamenica

AU1911084891 Pristina FJALA in Albanian No 43 Nov 91 p 2

[D.M. report: "Communal Assembly Delegates and Kosovo Democratic Alliance Activists Searched and Imprisoned"]

[Text] Kamenica, 12 Nov—Without any legal grounds, the occupying Serbian police are searching and imprisoning Communal Assembly delegates and Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] activists.

The LDK Information Center reports that, at about 0330 GMT today, policemen entered the apartment of Zija Rudhani, coordinator of the legitimate Kamenica Communal Assembly, for whom they have been searching since the referendum on Kosovo's sovereignty. Not finding Zija, the police seized his wife, Emine, and set off for the village of Rogacice. In this village, the police, equipped with five all-terrain vehicles, six cars, a Pinzgauer, and an armored personnel carrier, and armed to the teeth, surrounded and raided the house of Zija's uncle, Shaqir Isuf Rudhani (62), on the pretext that Zija was sheltering there. They ordered him to be surrendered within 30 minutes, even though the family did not know where Zija was. After raiding the house, they seized Shaqir's son Isuf (35). The police also raided the houses of Zija's brother, Llukman Riza Rudhani, and Gani Xhafer Kryeziu, LDK branch chairman, whom they took to the militia station. On the pretext of looking for Zija, the militia also raided the house of his uncle, Xhemekadri Kastrati, in Karaceva e Eperme and arrested him. We stress that the Kamenica branch of the Council for Human Rights and Freedoms and the Presidium of the Kamenica LDK branch issued a strong protest after the police expeditions in Kamenica, Rogacice, and Karaceva, which have distressed not only the families concerned, but other inhabitants. Emine Rudhani, Isuf Rudhani, and Xhemekadri Rudhani were released after 30 minutes, while Gani Kryeziu and Musli Kastrati (both Communal Assembly delegates and LDK activists) have still not yet been released and their fate is unknown.

This campaign of savage raids and imprisonments took place immediately after a visit to this commune yesterday by Vukasin Jokanovic, a sworn anti-Albanian.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Two Opposition Parties Call For UN Troops

LD2211034791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—Two opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP) and the Moslem Bosnian Organization—called today for the deployment of "blue berets" in that republic.

The SDP asked the government and presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina to appeal to the United Nations Security Council to send a U.N. peacekeeping force to Yugoslavia as soon as possible, journalists have been told.

The SDP said the peacekeeping force should be positioned "along the front in the Republic of Croatia and in areas along the borders with Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Montenegro."

The Moslem Bosnian Organization (MBO) today expressed its support for the proposals of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the strongest third in the ruling coalition, that "troops of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be deployed along the borders with Serbia and Montenegro."

Sandzak Region Muslim Leader Appeals for Forces

LD2211034191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2208 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Pazar, Yugoslavia, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—Sulejman Ugljanin, the president of the Democratic Action Party (SDA) for the region of Sandzak, today called for a peacekeeping force to be sent to this region wedged in between the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro.

A statement released by the party which predominantly rallies Moslems in the region quotes Ugljanin as opining in a talk in Novi Pazar with second secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade Henry Kelly that peacekeeping troops should come to the Sandzak "in order to disarm all armed formations whose presence in the Sandzak has been increasingly in evidence of late."

The statement adds that Ugljanin showed special concern for the future of the Moslem people in the Sandzak, a territory which was the heartland of the medieval Serbian state of Raska.

Henry Kelly refused to make a statement to the press about his visit to Novi Pazar, saying it was a private visit.

Last month, the SDA organized a referendum in the Serbian and Montenegrin populated communes in the region with a view to proclaiming the region's autonomy. Serbian authorities considered the referendum illegitimate.

Ministry Says Draftees 'Not Obliged' to Call-Up

AU2111212091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina today made an announcement to the public in which it is emphasized:

For quite a long time, Army organs have been using the media to pressurize draftees to report themselves to Army organs in order to be sent to carry out their national service. In connection with this, we would like to inform the public that, in accordance with the decision made by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government on 23 August 1991, Army organs are no longer authorized to carry out national service and mobilization duties. They are, therefore, also not authorized to send draftees from the territory of this republic to carry out their national service.

At its session on 19 September 1991, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency made a decision to stop sending draftees from Bosnia-Hercegovina to do national service in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army until an effective and firm end to the fighting in all conflict areas of our country has been reached. Because the decision of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency not to send draftees is still in force, we inform you that draftees are not obliged to respond to the call-ups by the Army organs and that no procedure can be initiated against draftees, as there are no legal grounds for this, the announcement of the Ministry of National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina states.

Vukovar Convoy Arrives in Dvorovi 21 Nov

LD2111170891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Bijeljina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The convoy with the wounded evacuated from the Vukovar hospital arrived in the village of Dvorovi in Bosnia-Hercegovina at about 1400 today. The convoy includes 54 seriously wounded persons and 50 burn patients. Two people died en route and two have been transferred to Belgrade. [passage omitted]

The convoy with the wounded will—after a short stop in Dvorovi—continue toward Croatia, intending to cross the Sava at Bosanski Samac. The monitoring of the convoy after it leaves Dvorovi will include—besides representatives of the Army and the Croatian armed forces—representatives of the EC observer mission, the International Red Cross, and the Red Cross organizations of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Arrival of Reservists Causes 'Tension' in Neum

AU1611205591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 91

[Text] The situation in Neum is tense, and at the moment there is a great feeling of trepidation about what will happen after the arrival in Neum of reservists of the Yugoslav People's Army from the Trebinje commune, our correspondent reports. The Neum crisis headquarters stresses that none of the officials in the Neum commune have been informed of the arrival in the Dobri Do district of reservists from Montenegro and Serbia. Here is Milan Bego with the latest information on the arrival of reservists of the Yugoslav People's Army on the territory of Neum:

[Begin Bego recording] The news that a group of reservists from the village of Turkovici in the Trebinje commune had passed through Neum was confirmed this evening in the crisis headquarters and police station in Neum.

It is difficult to say at the moment whether this involves an accident or whether the arrival of reservists in the village of Dobri Do is justified with a check of this terrain [words indistinct] information from the command of the operations group for Hercegovina that Croatian armed forces are making for the Dubrovnik battle field.

The fact remains that no one in the official authorities in Neum was informed of the arrival of the reservists on the territory of Neum and there is no justified reason for this. This is what they stress in Neum.

The crisis headquarters and the police station in Neum have confirmed the report that the reservists, accommodated in the Dobri Do district, fired 20 grenades in the surrounding area of the districts of Zukovica and Drin at noon yesterday. Fortunately, no one was injured in the shooting. The same sources confirm that police forces in Neum did not fire one single bullet.

The highest republican organs have been briefed on this incident and, as we were informed in Neum, a meeting was organized this afternoon in Trebinje between representatives of the Army command and Neum and officials of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Neum is calling for the urgent withdrawal of the reservists but we do not yet know what was agreed in Trebinje.

Let us say finally that despite the tension, life in Neum has not been disturbed. Everyone is hoping for a suitable solution. There was no shooting or any other incident on the territory of Neum today. [end recording]

Army Promises To Withdraw From Neum

AU2211111791 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The gunfire incident on the border between the Trebinje and Neum communes will be resolved to the satisfaction of both sides. This was stated by Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, in Trebinje today after his meeting with General Pavle Strugar, commander of the second operations group of the Yugoslav People's Army for Hercegovina and Ivan Bender, president of the Neum Communal Assembly.

General Strugar stressed that he had (?officially) promised that Army forces would withdraw to positions they had occupied before this incident, and the president of the Neum commune promised that there would be no gunfire from this area. It was also agreed that a team of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be sent to this region and take responsibility for maintaining the peace.

General Strugar warned that the Army's positions had been fired upon from the direction of Hutovo in the Neum commune, that Croatian armed formations had been receiving fresh forces from this direction, that mortar launchers has been set up on this area, and some roads had been damaged. He said that the Army would always go to the source of the gunfire to disarm those doing the shooting, but if these problems are resolved then there is no reason for the Army units to act.

Serbian Assembly Discusses Plebiscite Results

AU2211112491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] The Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina adopted a report today in Sarajevo on the results of the plebiscite among the Serbian people. It elected a commission for constitutional issues and made several decisions. Jolanda Mikota has a report:

[Begin Mikota recording] The deputies of the Assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina made the decision today that communes, local communities, and all districts in areas where the plebiscite of the Serbian people was carried out should be considered the territory of the federal state of Yugoslavia along with Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serbian Autonomous Regions [SAO] of Krajina and Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

Verifying the proclamation of the organization of the Serbian regions and autonomous regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the deputies of the Assembly of the Serbian people decided that Bosanska Krupa should join the Autonomous Region of Krajina, Donji Vakuf the SAO of Krajina, Foca the SAO of Hercegovina, and the newly formed communal Assembly of Olovo the SAO of Romania-(?Birac), which should also include the parts of Rogatica where the Serbian people live. These regions are part of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a federal unit in the common state of Yugoslavia.

Representatives of Bosnian Krajina asked Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to what extent the 14 conclusions of the Assembly of SAO Krajina had been implemented, which among other things demanded the replacement of directors of public enterprises. The question was asked who defends Serbian Bosnia in Krajina and the interests of the Serbian people on the battlefields. The comment was made that it is not honest to let only Serbs from Krajina die for Serbian Bosnia.

A response followed from the (?Romanija representatives), who stressed that their countrymen died on the Vukovar battlefield and that thanks to them Borovo Naselje fell and that the first and second (?Romanija units) had fought on the Trpinja road, but since they have been in the Novi Sad corps little is known about them and these war successes. It was concluded that replies to all questions should be prepared for the next session of the Assembly of the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The club of Serbian deputies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament received the task of demanding the adoption of a law on denationalization [words indistinct] the committee for national equality and to ask for the

scrapping of the law on the protection of the name and works of the Josip Broz Tito. An initiative was also launched for the property of the common media in Bosnia- Hercegovina to be divided up and the formation of separate ones.

Representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party in leading state posts in Bosnia-Hercegovina were empowered to continue negotiations on future cohabitation with representatives of the other peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

Leaders in Mostar Protest Croatian 'Community'

LD2111131691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] Mostar, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—In response to the formation of the "Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna" with its seat in Mostar, the leaderships of several political parties in the town today voiced their protest against this move.

The municipal committee of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] described the move as a secession and an attempt to tear Bosnia- Hercegovina apart. According to the SDP, "this is an attempt to impose on other people the political will of one nation, which is not in the majority even in all the areas to be covered by the so-called Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna.

The Liberal Party of Mostar described the formation of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna as a unilateral and undemocratic act by the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Official Interviewed on Republic Paramilitary

92BA0123B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 91 p 9

[Interview with Vitomir Zepinic, deputy minister of internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Maristela Lucic; place and date not given: "Excessively Loud Saber-Rattling"]

[Text] The security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina has never been worse. The central republic is not at war, although people are dying even here, but it is falling into a political pit that is becoming more turbulent every day. The top officials of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs the other day simply uttered a scream and sent an ultimatum to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the federal SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] demanding that they do everything so that the shooting does not start in Bosnia, which at present is relatively peaceful. That was to be followed by rapid intervention, so that with the help of the Army and the federal SUP the Bosnia-Hercegovina police would get vital transportation routes in service, would prevent illegal arms traffic, and would disarm paramilitary formations in Bosnia.

Vitomir Zepinic, deputy minister of internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, who negotiated with the military authorities, spoke with BORBA about the critical days in this republic.

Debates About East and West

[Zepinic] I had the impression that up to now we have been reducing the security and political problems of this country to the war zones, to the conflicts between Croatia and Serbia, and to the differences between the two nationalities. The Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership has behaved in the same way. There has been more debate about east and west, neglecting the objectively serious situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. And difficult days lie ahead in this republic. The population is illegally armed, we estimate that between 250,000 and 300,000 people are armed. Those are not just infantry weapons. All three political parties have been involved in that. Incidentally, back in the spring we warned the party leaders, the republic government, and the Presidency.

[Lucic] Yet the government formed by the three ethnic parties simply shut its eyes to the truth that they were arming their own nationalities, or the leaders said that those others were arming themselves?

[Zepinic] Most turned a deaf ear to our warning. They said they had nothing to do with such formations, although we presented evidence to them. In the coming period, we will reach agreement with the JNA to take measures even against those people who initiated and aided the creation of such formations.

From People Known About Earlier

[Lucic] Does this also apply to party leaders?

[Zepinic] Even that should not be precluded. In the reaction to the warnings we have issued, we have obtained an adjuration of such activity from only two men: Muhamed Cengic (deputy prime minister) and Momcilo Krajisnik (president of the Assembly). The others kept silent and did not believe what we said. However, this is not just what we have learned, but also what has been learned by the security agencies of the JNA. That is why we will be taking joint measures both toward those who are in those formations and those who helped to create them.

[Lucic] In the meeting with the federal authorities and the SSUP [Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs], you agreed to jointly disarm the paramilitary formations. Will that be possible?

[Zepinic] We have information on those who are behind the paramilitary formations and voluntary units of all three sides. To a fair degree they have been aided or even initiated by the political parties. Now those formations have independence in their activity, in the sense of tyranny, plundering, an aggressive behavior, that absolutely departs from what was represented by the sponsors when such groupings were formed. A situation has even

come about of parallel exercise of government authority in those regions. This is the case, for instance, in the regions of Prnjavor, western Hercegovina, Visegrad, Bratunac....

In the conversation with the JNA, we agreed that with those preventive monitoring activities at points in the republic we would obtain still more knowledge about the activity of the paramilitary formations, and then we would act through the Army to disarm them. Fortunately for us, the disarming of those units will be much easier than in Croatia. These are smaller units, to a fair extent they have broken loose from the original and initial political activity, so that we might say that we will not have either political problems or problems with the political parties involved in the formation of these groupings.

Terrorism Is Knocking on the Door

[Lucic] Can we anticipate that there might be fierce conflicts when they are being disarmed?

[Zepinic] We cannot preclude incidents. We take that for granted, and we have reached agreement with the JNA about technical aid and special equipment for the forces of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Nor do we preclude conflicts in certain areas, because the members of those formations are largely people we knew about earlier—people with a predisposition to crime and who have been under police observation. Thanks to activation of the police reserves throughout most of the republic, the village guards have been withdrawn, and this is helpful to us, because the groupings have been left in isolation. Our assessment is that they do not have the support that they had when they were formed, and this will be an additional favorable circumstance when they are being disarmed.

[Lucic] Are there any other problems as serious as the paramilitary formations in Bosnia?

[Zepinic] We have another problem which Bosnia-Hercegovina will be confronting from the security standpoint over the next few months, and that is terrorist activity—either individual or state terrorism. An attempt is being made to draw Bosnia-Hercegovina as a republic, in part or altogether, into the war that is taking place in Croatia. It is a fact that about 10,000 individuals are estimated to have gone from our territory and are on battlefields in Croatia in various formations—the MUP, the National Guard Corps, and among the Serbian volunteers. After the truce in Croatia, they will represent a considerable problem for security authorities.

We estimate that in the coming period there will be a considerable growth of terrorist activity against facilities of particular importance to the republic. This terrorism is a direct reflection of extremism of all three sides.

[Lucic] What is your comment on the assertion that Bosnia-Hercegovina has been occupied by the Army, and the MUP is now stepping up actions with the military police?

[Zepinic] I would not enter into those political connotations, but I favor a still greater presence of the Army, if necessary, just in order to guarantee the peace and security of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Relative to population, the Bosnia-Hercegovina MUP is the smallest in Yugoslavia, including both the active police and reserves (33,000 armed people in all). Little has been invested compared to other republics. I would be satisfied if we were furnished at least 20 percent of the resources that has been set aside for the Croatian MUP.

Finally, the statements made by all three ethnic leaders in the republic Assembly, to the effect that the regular Army is welcome, is confirmation of the legality of our activity with the JNA.

"Transit" Crime

After communications were broken off between Belgrade and Zagreb, Bosnia-Hercegovina has become a transit area for through traffic. Arms are being transported unlawfully, and arms and drugs are being smuggled under cover of the confusion. That is why we have stepped up activities, and some actions are already under way. We recently confiscated a large shipment of arms in Sarajevo, and that has been written about in the press. We are now processing several other cases of illegal smuggling and armament in western Hercegovina and Bosanska Krajina, in the direction of eastern Bosnia and toward the Sanjak.

And then there is wholesale smuggling of foreign exchange. There will be still more, because people are coming from Slovenia to purchase foreign exchange in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and there have been announcements that Croatia will also introduce its own currency, which will intensify the smuggling of currency still more, especially in the areas of western Hercegovina, Bosanska Krajina, and central Bosnia.

Pelivan Interviewed on Government Reconstruction

92BA0121A Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Jure Pelivan, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Dusanka Stanisic; place and date not given: "The Government Is Nevertheless Governing"]

[Text] The coalition government of Bosnia-Hercegovina will "celebrate" its first birthday—if it does—at a time when industrial output has dropped off greatly, roads are blocked, funds are impoverished, there are various shortages, numerous production plants have been shut down, ethnic and social tensions are heightened, there are increasingly frequent threats of war being made to "its"

republic, and so on. The consequences of this kind of overall political and economic situation in the country not only have not bypassed the B-H government, but quite often have been the reason for its stumbling and indeed even hurtling into a deep crisis. The public has been critical of it, severely reproaching the government for sometimes acceding to the articulation of party interests instead of seeking a solution for getting out of the crisis. The parliamentary opposition has gone furthest in the criticism with its demand for formation of a new nonparty government. This was our occasion for turning to Jure Pelivan, Bosnia-Hercegovina prime minister. We asked him to comment on the opposition's demand, which it updated the night before last in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly in the Forum of Civil Parliamentary Parties.

[Stanisic] There have been increasingly frequent demands from various quarters and at various levels for the Bosnia-Hercegovina government to resign. What truth is there in that?

[Pelivan] The resignation of the government is being persistently demanded mainly by representatives of opposition parties represented in the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament. That is the parliamentary minority. However, none of those parties has so far offered any program whatsoever for economic and economic-political development that could be honored either in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina or in the government under these present conditions of crisis. It is clear that the economic crisis is pronounced throughout the country, but especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina; basically it is the result of the political crisis in the country and of the manifold economic and other blockades resulting from the military conflicts in Croatia and, of course, the political options. Is it fair to look in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the sole and supreme culprit to blame for all those troubles? I do not mean by that to excuse the government of possible omissions and inefficiency, but I think that we need to look at the problems objectively. The decline of economic activity is inevitably resulting in a very rapid drop of income, and therefore a great deterioration of the financial situation both for production workers and for the financing of social services: education, health care, old-age and disability insurance, legal services, and so on.

Under those conditions, the government is doing what it is able to spread the burden of the crisis as much and as uniformly as possible. Its principal goal in doing that is not to put an additional burden on the economy.

[Stanisic] You have personally announced a reshuffling of the government. Do you consider this a sufficient move for the government to radically alter the way it has operated up to now, or is this merely a cosmetic maneuver to avoid falling?

[Pelivan] On the basis of experience in this past period, it is my honest assessment that we need to reconstruct the government in order to improve its effectiveness. Accordingly, I reject all reproaches that this view of mine concerning reconstruction signifies some kind of maneuver in order to keep this government in power. On the contrary, along with the indispensable need to achieve greater efficiency of the government, I personally think that the government should be broadened to include representatives of the parliamentary opposition, because in this way we would achieve a higher degree of political cooperation of all the political forces in the republic. In my opinion, this is a generation that wants the crisis overcome more rapidly and effectively and for preservation of a unified and whole Bosnia-Hercegovina. Therefore, in the very first session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly the government will submit a bill for reorganization of the ministries, and immediately after that a proposal for reconstruction of the government.

[Stanisic] What is your opinion, given the overall political situation in the republic and in the country (assuming in both cases that they exist), is it objectively possible for a tripartite coalition ethnic government to govern?

[Pelivan] Experience to date suggests the conclusion that the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina should operate independently even under the present relations of the political parties; that means that even the leading political party should not exert pressure on the behavior of members of the government. That is, the government should perform its functions independently, in keeping with constitutional and legal precepts, and render an accounting of what it has done exclusively to the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and through it to all citizens. I do not mean to say by that that the leading ethnic parties have up to now had excessive influence, but I can say that those influences have nevertheless been manifested when the agenda of a government meeting included issues in the realm of politics. Within that context, it is urgent for the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina to decide whether it is opportune for members of the government to hold political offices in their parties at the same time.

[Stanisic] Do you think what the opposition proposed immediately after the election would be a better solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina: formation of a nonparty civil servant government of experts, and is this possibly the form of the transformation of the government that has been announced?

[Pelivan] When we speak about the demands for a nonparty government to be formed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, for a government of experts, I personally think that such a government would not achieve greater results, because it is uncertain what kind of support the government would enjoy when the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and all other bodies of government in the republic have been formed through a system based on parties. On the contrary, reconstruction of the present government could yield greater advantages, because we have already gained solid experience, and reconstruction could improve effectiveness, but this also presupposes a

broader unified support of the Assembly and of all the political parties in the republic.

[Stanisic] What is your comment on the formation of an assembly of the Serbian people, and the related question of the status of the Serbian ministers in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Pelivan] My view in connection with regionalization in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the principle of homogenization of opstinas with a majority population of one nationality was well known before this occurred. I am an advocate of broader regionalization on the basis of natural, geographic, and economic characteristics, combined with maximum decentralization of functions at the level of the opstinas and regions. I was therefore surprised by the formation of a separate assembly by deputies of Serbian nationality, while all existing relations were retained. Duality is obviously unsuitable and unacceptable. I personally think that in an undivided and unified Bosnia-Hercegovina rights and freedoms can be fully guaranteed for all citizens and in particular for all three nationalities by organizing the structure of the assembly on foundations that guarantee both the rights of citizens and the rights of nationalities. Within the framework of the government, all the ministers, regardless of nationalities, are required to act as representatives of all citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in no case should exclusively follow the interests of the party which nominated them.

[Stanisic] Before this office, you were never a person at the top level of politics and government. Have you regretted that you accepted this office and did so at the worst moment in Bosnia-Hercegovina's 50-year history?

[Pelivan] When I accepted the position of prime minister, my motive was the desire to make a possible personal contribution, above all to economic development of Bosnia-Hercegovina, under the p[illegible] conditions of crisis. Never in my life have I been extensively involved in politics, nor is it my preoccupation even at the moment. However, I cannot say that I have regretted it, although the turn of events has raised immense problems.

Parliamentary Opposition Urges Change

92BA0121B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 91 p 3

[Article by R. Zivkovic: "Changes or Hopelessness"]

[Text] The night before last the associated parliamentary opposition of Bosnia-Hercegovina publicly and officially took the initiative for recall of the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, for formation of a new government, and for preparation for extraordinary early elections. In addition to those initiatives, the forum also offered the Bosnia-Hercegovina political system a Declaration on Peaceful and Democratic Resolution of the Crisis, Defense of the Sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Political Future of Yugoslavia. The forum, incidentally, is made up of political representatives of the Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [SRSJ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Liberal Party, and the Democratic Party of Socialists [DSS].

Demanding urgent changes in the political organization of power in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Forum of the Civil Parliamentary Opposition blamed the ethnic political parties for this situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, stressing at the same time that in the "multiparty elections that have taken place in all the Yugoslav republics there has been the greatest political deception ever recorded in the political history of democracy since its inception." This is one of the observations made in the statement on the initiative for calling early elections.

The Ethnic Parties Are Protagonists of Chaos

The statement also says that the "present partnership of the ethnic parties is disintegrating and losing its political legitimacy. However, none of the ruling parties wants to admit this in public, because that would undoubtedly have negative consequences for each of them." The charge made against the parties in power is that they have been making preparations for war in order to create the political-psychological preconditions for large conflicts. That is the reason for the insistence on calling early elections, and the opposition says that it is not insisting on that because it expects in advance to win the election, but in order to prevent disintegration of the republic and to keep the threat to the existence of citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina from getting any worse.

The opposition demanded that the request for extraordinary elections be taken up and adopted in the legal institutions of the system to which it will be sent, and they were also made known to The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia. The new government is also called upon to make preparations for extraordinary elections, to speed up the procedure of adoption of the new constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to make provisions for deputies in assemblies of opstinas to institute proceedings for the formation of new opstina governments.

The Declaration on Peaceful and Democratic Resolution of the Crisis, Defense of the Sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Political Future of Yugoslavia can also be considered an important document which the Forum of the Civil Parliamentary Opposition has addressed to the Bosnia-Hercegovina public. Zlatko Lagumdzija (SDP), who made the case for the declaration, said of the ethnic political parties, as he put it, that they "would not be remembered as founders of great national states, but as protagonists of chaos holding all of Yugoslavia in its death throes and sending thousands of people to death, misery, and hopelessness. The opposition insists that there is no dilemma: either war or peace,

emphasizing at the same time that any policy is retrograde that desires war, that sets the nationalities apart, and that sees this as the only formula for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

"The opposition also says that it will not recognize nor accept the extreme disintegration of the Yugoslav community, nor a possible disintegration and division of Bosnia-Hercegovina. What is actually called for is a transformation of the Yugoslav community that would preserve the territorial integrity, equality, and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The opposition forum also objected to the forming of false alliances and perfidious coalitions by the ethnic parties. The real interest of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be in Yugoslavia, which would be constituted as a community that in the form of an alliance of sovereign republics and in its content would be ethnically integrated and would have joint functions established in a democratic agreement." It was, of course, stated at the same time that it is in the interest of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina for this republic to be in its present borders.

There Are No Economic Programs

As far as changes are concerned, the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliamentary opposition called attention to the fact that it takes the view that any agreement on the character of the state and system of Bosnia-Hercegovina must be carried out through a full democratic procedure and with the guarantees of the international community. The opposition parties again blame this kind of catastrophic situation from the economic standpoint on the ethnic political parties, which, they say, not only did not have economic programs, but have not even mastered the method of managing changes, as it was put the night before last by Dr. Ozman Pirija (SRSJ for Bosnia-Hercegovina). And there were also other messages:

Dr. Seid Hukovic, professor: "This group gives us hope that we have chances of overcoming the crisis by peaceful means."

Abdulah Sidran: "I have been driven by sadness to go from one leader to another of these opposition parties so that they would agree to do what we have now done."

Fra Marko Orsolic: "I have seen you as men of goodwill. The important thing is that the citizens realize that we must arm ourselves, but not with 'kalashnikovs,' but with love and consideration toward one another."

Macedonia

Gligorov Addresses Festive Session of Assembly

AU2111133991 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Speech by Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, at a festive session of the Macedonian Assembly to promulgate the new republican constitution in Skopje on 21 November—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, dear participants in the first ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia], dear guests, the festive promulgation of the constitution of the sovereign [passage indistinct]... adopted the declaration for creating a Macedonian state, is the centuries-old dream of our people and all nationalities that live on this soil. And here today when we adopt the new constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, which is crucial for its legal foundations, foundations for an independent and sovereign state that will have an internationally recognized identity, we are full of pride and hope that the victims that fell in all our uprisings did not give their lives in vain.

We are leaving behind us the days of slavery, (?darkness), persecution, resettlement, the days of being homeless. History will talk and testify about them and about the (?true) strength of our people to survive, endure, and preserve the Macedonian (?language), songs, and folklore.

Only 45 years of being a republic were sufficient to affirm ourselves as a European nation and to demonstrate the diligence, talent, and ability of our people. At the same time, all nationalities that live in Macedonia and share the fate of the Macedonian people have also prospered.

With independence and sovereignty we are facing new chances to affirm ourselves, new (?challenges) in all fields ranging from economics to culture, we are facing huge responsibility for internal peace and stability, for the development of democracy, above all, for the development of the economy, for growth and progress in all spheres, and for our presence and active participation in the international community.

Macedonia will be a constructive factor in the present day world that will strive for peace, international cooperation, rights, and justice. Our future aim, in which we will invest all our potential, is to become a member of the European Community and the United Nations. The European option should dominate in all our programs and plans, and in this context, cooperation with all Balkan countries and all our neighbors.

The adoption of the constitution completes an important phase in the process of acquiring independence. We are facing important tasks. In accordance with the constitution, we have to rearrange the entire legislature and organize all the institutions of a sovereign and independent Macedonia, we have to continue our actions abroad for the recognition of Macedonia, fully engage ourselves in solving the Yugoslav crisis and ending the war, and find an agreement for an association of sovereign states.

These are major tasks that will represent a test for parliament, the government, and all these institutions. They will have to demonstrate how successful they can be in building the country. This work will require enormous expertise, competence, and ability, and therefore parliament and the government will need to open themselves wide to scientific and other institutions, to the entire public.

We must give priority to ability and youth, to the generations that will build their own destiny in the direction of the European horizon. We are particularly pleased with [words indistinct] and therefore greet the Macedonian diaspora for (?supporting the promulgation) of the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia. This is (?one of the major factors) [words indistinct].